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TESIS DOCTORAL

**A Descriptive Analysis of the
Spanish Translations of *Manhattan Transfer*
And Their Role in the
Spanish Construction of John Dos Passos**

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Director de la Tesis Doctoral: Prof. Dr. Javier Ortiz García

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Tesis presentada por Rosa María Bautista Cordero

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If scholars translate, if they analyze translation, and if they analyze the part played by translations in the receiving literatures and cultures, chances are not only that we shall learn much more about the workings of the complex phenomenon known as culture, but also that translation studies may come to occupy a place in academe that reflects the importance of translation in the culture that has produced academe. (André Lefevere)

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INTRODUCTION

1. Motivation and purpose

The study of translated literature has historically been a neglected field, the main reason being the fact that more emphasis has been put on the originality and creativity of literary works, turning the translated text into a second-hand, disdained object of scholarly study. As translation theorist Lawrence Venuti noted when referring to the marginality of the translation activity, “translation is ignored [...] even by the most sophisticated scholars who must rely on translated texts in their research and teaching” (*Scandals* 32). Literary scholars working in the field of comparative literature have frequently focused in the study of the source language texts, and so the study of translated literature in a comparative literature context continues to offer new research opportunities.

The literary translator’s authorship is still a matter for debate, not only in terms of copyright law and insufficient social recognition, but also from more abstract, philosophical perspectives (cf. Pym 21-44). Whatever the views, the reality is that the average reader hardly ever considers the fact that when reading a translation, he or she is not actually reading the original author’s work, but the perception and recreation of that work by a translator. Despite this widespread invisibility of translators, translated literature has played a determining role in the shaping of our culture and it deserves a place in the field of literary studies.

Translation is viewed by many as a subordinated discipline, which is partly due to “a veneration of foreign languages and literatures that is irrational in its extremity since it is unlikely to find any translation acceptable” (Venuti, *Scandals* 32). Indeed, translation scholars have somehow contributed to this view by focusing their research all too often in spotting what is “lost” when comparing originals and translations. I agree with Venuti that this linguistic approach offers a truncated view of the data, since it does not consider the social values that inform translation practice and reduces the study of translation to the formulation of theories (cf. *Scandals* 31). Since every translation is the result of a combination of factors that influence the translator’s understanding and perception of the foreign text, the translated text should not be looked at only in terms of textual features and translation strategies.

Furthermore, I fully agree with the contention of translation theorist André Lefevere and his colleagues from the Manipulation School that when we look at the history of literature, other factors beyond the mere interpretation of texts should also be considered, such as power, ideology and manipulation. As Lefevere says, a relativistic approach to the constructed “greatness” of literary works means that the “canon will no longer be accepted as self-evident or interpreted in its timeless given perfection,” so that it can be studied in its historical evolution.

In such a view of literature the translator can become a technician among others, making texts available for study. The translation scholar can analyze the part played by translation in the constitution and revision of various canons and in the struggle between various poetics. The translation scholar can analyze the reception of foreign works inside a national

literature. (...) They [translation scholars] can take that mechanism [that confers greatness to works of literature] apart (...) and trace its workings through the intermediary of the educational system and the media. (Lefevere, *Translating Literature* 138)

Convinced that any in-depth study of literary phenomena across borders needs to consider the study of translations, I chose to carry out my research in that direction. So, interested in examining the process of translation of a literary work, its displacement from one receiving culture to another, and its evolution across time, I looked at the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer* and the critical approach to them, as well as at some key socio-cultural factors that have contributed to our understanding of John Dos Passos from a Spanish perspective; paraphrasing French translation scholar Francois Pitavy in his work about William Faulkner, to the “making of” (83) a Spanish Dos Passos.

In the course of my graduate research I became interested in the image of Spain in North-American literature, more specifically in the works of Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961) and particularly, of John Dos Passos (1896-1970). There were various reasons for this interest, and they included not strictly literary ones, but also fascination for the historical, cultural and political circumstances of the Spain about which they wrote. As a translator, I was inevitably curious about the way in which the translation of all the Spanish elements in their works on Spain might have been approached.

The names of Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos during the 1920s up until the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) are inseparable; they were best friends and in those early years, shared their love for adventure, travel and writing, as well as their political ideas. However, there were also huge differences between them, not only in their writing styles but also in their personalities. The fact that their friendship broke upon serious

disagreement on the developments of the Spanish Civil War has contributed to numerous rewritings of the Hemingway-Spain-Dos Passos triangle.

I had read some of Hemingway's books and was generally more familiar with his Spanish connections. However, John Dos Passos was new to me; through the study of his works on Spain, I got to know about his political ideas, his way of understanding art and literature, his sense of friendship and loyalty.

But what was Dos Passos's image *in* Spain? I had enjoyed so much his Spanish writings that I thought it was worth looking at what was left of his personality and his works in 21st century Spain. Initially, I thought I would find enough material for my research just by dealing with his Spanish works, but that was not the case. Dos Passos's works on Spain are rarely known by Spanish readers; literary critics seldom refer to them. However, his connection with our country has attracted the attention of academic scholars who have explored his works of Spanish inspiration, his memoirs, letters and diaries. Among them, Argentine writer and critic Hector Baggio, scholars Concha Zardoya, Catalina Montes, Pilar Marín Madrazo and Nancy Bredendick and, more recently, Spanish writer Ignacio Martínez de Pisón and professors Eulalia Piñero and Alicia Villar Lecumberri have all shed their light on our understanding of Dos Passos from a Spanish perspective.

Catalina Montes, with her book *La visión de España en la obra de John Dos Passos* (1980), is the author that —so far— has given the most detailed account of Dos Passos's works on Spain, providing valuable bibliographical and chronological detail for anyone interested in the topic.¹

¹ Coincidentally, in that same year, Pilar Marín Madrazo published *La Gran Guerra en la obra de Hemingway y Dos Passos*, that only tangentially mentions the Spanish connections of Dos Passos, but is illustrative of a period of more intense research on his life and works at the Universidad de Salamanca, probably under the leadership of North American literature professor Juan José Coy.

Concha Zardoya (Valparaíso, Chile 1914-Madrid, España 2004), a Spanish writer, translator and critic—who also taught in several American universities— was probably one of the first to write about the poems of Spanish inspiration that young John Dos Passos published under the title *A Pushcart at the Curb*. She devoted a chapter of her book titled *Verdad, Belleza y Expresión* (1967) to the poems Dos Passos had written during his early stays in Spain, under the title “La imagen de España en dos poetas norteamericanos.” She pointed out similarities between Dos Passos and Baroja, “diríase que Dos Passos ha asimilado un estilo típicamente barojiano” (Zardoya 117 qtd. in Bredendick, “Baroja’s Madrid” 154), an argument further developed in 1999 by literary scholar Nancy Bredendick in her article “Baroja’s Madrid in the poems of ‘Winter in Castille’ by John Dos Passos.” For Bredendick, there are three distinct elements in the poetry of Dos Passos that are also present in Baroja, these being the quality of tone, the treatment of the theme of poverty, and the erotic (ibid 153-160). She also finds that for both Dos Passos and Baroja, the Madrid sky is a characteristic element of the city that is present in both writers. To exemplify this, in the case of Baroja, she quotes a fragment of *Aurora roja* (605-6) and in the case of Dos Passos, poem VIII “Paseo de la Castellana” (Dos Passos, *Pushcart* 28).

Two Spanish scholars have recently written on *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922). Alicia Villar Lecumberri, a renowned expert in *El Quijote*, highlighted the influences and traces of Cervantes’ masterpiece in this early work by Dos Passos in her article titled “Sobre *Rocinante vuelve al camino* de John Dos Passos.” Literature professor and comparatist Eulalia Piñero Gil has also researched into *Rosinante on the Road Again* noting Dos Passos’s ability to “paint” with words and his impressive knowledge of Spanish politics and culture. (cf. Piñero, “Mad about Spain”)

Despite the evidence of certain scholarly interest for Dos Passos's works on Spain, his reputation as a writer is primarily associated with *Manhattan Transfer* by the general reading-public. In my initial search for an area worth exploring regarding the Spanish construction of Dos Passos, I found this recurring message expressed in more or less similar terms: Dos Passos, [American writer] famous for his masterpiece *Manhattan Transfer*. In many cases, "the author of *Manhattan Transfer*" is a commonly used pseudonym used in Spain to refer to John Dos Passos. And that was the starting point of my research: to find reasons for the centrality of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain as compared to other Dos Passos's works.

In Spanish literary circles it is widely accepted that *Manhattan Transfer* is a novel of first importance, extremely innovative and revolutionary for its time, and that it has influenced writers such as the Spanish Nobel Prize for Literature Camilo José Cela in his writing of *La Colmena* (1951).² Surprisingly enough, despite the numerous evidences of such popularity, to date there have been no monographs, critical editions, previous doctoral thesis³ or in-depth analysis of the novel and/or its influences on other writers by Spanish scholars. Apart from brief reviews which appeared in 1929 when the Spanish translation of *Manhattan Transfer* was first published, and the prologues to the various editions, Spanish critical bibliography on the novel is scarce.

So the initial question to be answered was: Why *Manhattan Transfer* and not other works by Dos Passos? The first reason probably is the fascination for New York —and

² Camilo José Cela never publicly acknowledged Dos Passos's influence. (cf. Gibson 131-132)

³ Two doctoral theses on Dos Passos appear in TESEO (Spanish Doctoral Thesis database), one titled *John Dos Passos U.S.A. And The American Dream* (1999), by Portuguese scholar Maria do Ceu Martins Monteiro Marques (read at the Universidad de Salamanca), and the other, an earlier one, *La visión de España en la obra de John Dos Passos* (1978) by Catalina Montes, who happened to be the director of the former.

particularly the modernist New York of the 1920s— that is felt by the Europeans in general, and also by the Spanish. To find evidence for that fascination, my research would have been conducted in another direction. I was more interested in the historical background of the first half of 20th century Spain and its literary life, which was experienced first-hand by Dos Passos. Therefore, I looked into the literary and critical contexts in America and Spain, but also at the social and political aspects that may have influenced the Spanish construction of Dos Passos.

2. Corpus description

For those unfamiliar with the novel, *Manhattan Transfer* is set in New York City from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century up to the start of The Great Depression. It is hard to summarize the plot, since it is a huge puzzle of characters coming and going, interconnected stories at times but often disconnected, with New York as the only point in common. Many characters appear and disappear throughout the novel, but there are two central ones: Ellen Thatcher and Jimmy Herf, who grow up in the city. Ellen's father, Ed Thatcher, is a hard working man who does his best to look after Ellen after his wife dies. Jimmy's mother also dies when he is a young boy after a long illness, this being an autobiographical echo of Dos Passos's own childhood experience. Ellen marries and gets divorced several times, while Jimmy tries to find his place as a writer in the city. Ellen and Jimmy get married and have a son, Martin, but their marriage breaks up too. Ellen stays in the city and marries again, while Jimmy decides to leave New York at the end of the novel. Many other characters appear and disappear, some of them directly connected to the central ones, others as part of the multitude that peoples the city. Bud Korpening, a farm boy, tries to find a job in the city, but commits suicide in despair when he does not

succeed. Congo, a French sailor and barkeep becomes rich as a bootlegger during Prohibition, while his friend Emile marries a businesswoman. Lawyer George Baldwin becomes a politician, and so does Gus McNeal. Ellen manages to start a career in Broadway by marrying John Oglethorpe. Failed businesses, crime, World War I and the Great Depression are present through the lives of more than a hundred characters.

In 1928, when Dos Passos was asked about his view of the multi-faceted, collage-like writing technique he had used in *Manhattan Transfer*, he declared that his way of writing had a parallel with modernist art in painting, in that it “aims to express sensations rather than to tell about them.” He added that people trying to “understand” such writing according to the method of plain narrative are “likely to be seized by panic” (qtd. in Pizer 110).

Extremely innovative in its use of language, techniques and themes, *Manhattan Transfer* has aged well in the opinion of most critics, and a good proof of it is the number of editions and re-prints that keep coming out regularly -almost one each year in Spain through the last decade. This alone would be in itself a solid motivation for a closer study of the novel in Spain. The centrality of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain as compared to other Dos Passos's works is evidenced by the analysis of its publishing history, which shows that this novel virtually doubles the rest of Dos Passos's works in Spain in number of editions.

For the purpose of my research, I have worked from the 1989 Penguin edition of *Manhattan Transfer*, and five different editions of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spanish, namely the original 1929 edition by Cenit, Planeta 1961, Círculo de Lectores 1989, Edhasa 2005 and the Debolsillo 2009. In the next section I will explain in more detail the reason for this choice.

3. Method

This thesis is in the field of comparative literature and translation, understanding “comparative literature” as an empirical discipline which studies the literary text from a comparative perspective in a broad sense. From a chronological point of view, comparative literature developed after three other major disciplines in literary studies, namely literary criticism, literary theory and the history of literature. The origins of comparative literature date back to the 1830-1840s in France by Abel-François Villemain and Jean-Jacques Ampère (Villanueva 99). They were the founders of the so called French school that developed throughout the 19th century, and in which comparative literature is mostly related to the History of Literature. This trend in comparative literature is still very influential today. As renowned Spanish comparatist Darío Villanueva describes it, the paradigm of the French comparatist school is the study of the influence of an author or a literary school in a national literature as compared to one or more related foreign literatures. For him, this is valuable approach to understand Literature as a complex cultural phenomenon, and says “la verdad es que este tipo de trabajo comparatista es absolutamente imprescindible y aporta datos de enorme interés para comprender que la Literatura nunca está cerrada en el ámbito de una expresión lingüística singular;” but he is also aware of the many other possibilities of the comparatist approach that studies the convergence of resources, themes, techniques, etc. in distant literatures. Villanueva goes on to define comparative literature as “la comparación de una Literatura con otra u otras Literaturas y la comparación de la Literatura con otras esferas de la creatividad humana”(Villanueva 99).

In the 20th century, comparative literature gradually developed into two distinct approaches: the so called French school which is reluctant to include other disciplines in the comparative study of supranational literatures, and the American inter-Arts approach, which sees comparative literature in an interdisciplinary way, to include Philosophy, Religious Studies, Cultural Anthropology and Historiography among others. In 1961, renowned comparatist and Bloomington professor Henry H. H. Remak defined comparative literature in this broader sense:

Comparative Literature is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country, and the study of the relationships between literature on one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the arts (e.g. painting, sculpture, architecture, music), philosophy, history, the social sciences (e.g. politics economics, sociology) the sciences, religion, etc., on the other. In brief it is the comparison of one literature with another or others, and the comparison of literature with other spheres of human expression. (Remak 3)

For Remak, “the French are inclined to favor questions which can be solved on the basis of factual evidence” and are reluctant to consider influence studies for being “too hazy, too uncertain, and would have us concentrate on questions of reception, intermediaries, foreign travel, and attitudes toward a given country in the literature of another country during a certain period” (*Comparative Literature, Its Definition and Function* 4).

In Spain, the field of comparative literature as a scholarly discipline is a relatively recent one. It developed in the last decades of the 20th century. An important contributor to the development of this discipline was Harvard professor Claudio Guillén. The son of

Spanish poet Jorge Guillén and one of the promoters of the Sociedad Española de Literatura General y Comparada (SELGYC), upon his return to Spain from exile in the 1980's he regretted that comparative literature did not exist in Spanish universities as a discipline, not even in graduate programs. Guillén defined comparative literature as “el estudio de la literatura en el sentido internacional o supranacional (...) de las relaciones entre las diversas literaturas y naciones, con sus traducciones e influencias” (Canals). Today, Spanish universities do offer undergraduate and graduate courses in this discipline, and the Spanish society on comparative literature regularly holds conferences and publishes a journal, *1616, Anuario de Literatura Comparada*, with Spanish Language Academy President Darío Villanueva as the chief editor.

It is in the last decade of the 20th century that comparative literature became a distinct discipline in Spain; until then, comparatist work had normally been framed within the history of literature or aesthetics. The challenge seems to be the need for a more systematic methodological and theoretical approach in the work of Spanish comparatists. (Pulido Tirado 11-29)

In the field of comparative literature and translation in Spain, scholar María Mercedes Enríquez has written on the connections between these two disciplines, and agrees with Remak and Steiner that translation is an indispensable tool for the comparatist. (“La literatura comparada y los estudios sobre la traducción” 9). In her work on the Spanish reception of the translations of the poems of John Keats, Enríquez claims that the interaction between translation and literary canon is still an open area for research (“Traducción y canon literario” 1).

With the so called “cultural turn” in translation studies that began in the late 1980s and developed in the 1990s, some translation scholars interested in a contextualized, historical perspective of translation opened new lines of research.

Based on the descriptive approach to translation studies, I will examine the translated text in a historical context and from a diachronic perspective. My research will deal with the Spanish translation(s) of *Manhattan Transfer* as part of the Spanish polysystem as conceived by Russian formalists in the early 1900s and later developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990). Other related theories and authors have been taken into account, specifically André Lefevere (1992), Antoine Berman (1999), Theo Hermans (1999), Edwin Gentzler (2002) and Lawrence Venuti (1998), among others; since all of them are interconnected, I will not apply one single specific theoretical model to the analysis of the translated text, but rather feed from those I have found more relevant in each case.

4. Brief Description of Structure and Content

For the purpose of providing the theoretical background of this thesis, I will start with a review of the more relevant translation theories and lines of research that have framed my work in Chapter 1. In this part of the thesis I have also included major translation theories that, although beyond the scope of this work, constitute milestones in the field of translation studies.

Chapter 2 provides an account of John Dos Passos as a writer. It includes some biographical sketches —particularly those which connect him to Spain—, and an overview of his major works, his contribution to American Modernism and his position in the American literary polysystem through time. Part of this chapter is devoted to recent

developments in scholarly research and reference to the creation in 2011 of the John Dos Passos Society. For the elaboration of this part of the thesis I had the opportunity to participate in the First Biennial John Dos Passos Society Conference which was held at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga in October 2014. Dos Passos scholars whom I met there provided me with valuable material for my research.

Once the biographical and literary contexts have been provided, the next step is to look at *Manhattan Transfer* as a novel in more detail. Thus, I have dealt with *Manhattan Transfer* in the U.S. and in Spain in Chapter 3. For the writing of this chapter, I looked at the critical reception upon the publication in 1925 and 1929 respectively, along with the critical reception and major scholarly research on the novel over the years. Despite similar critical receptions in the early days of the novel in America and in Spain, time has enlarged the reputation of *Manhattan Transfer* in our country and, unlike in the U.S., our image of John Dos Passos seems to have remained frozen, intact through time since the 1930s.

In the course of my research, I found politics have played a determining role in the construction of John Dos Passos and *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain. Here, like in the U.S., politics are frequently associated to Dos Passos. As Dos Passos scholar Lisa Nanney notes, “while critics have found the interartistic analogy helpful in exploring modernist writers such as Stein and Joyce, more often they’ve used historicist approaches to writers such as Dos Passos, Hemingway and Fitzgerald” (*John Dos Passos* 10). This critic also highlights the fact that of the 40 doctoral thesis written in the United States on Dos Passos since 1930, approximately half of them deal with historical or political aspects (ibid). However, whereas the Spanish critical reception has generally been permeated by American criticism, Dos Passos’s ideological developments toward conservatism do not

seem to have affected his reputation as a writer in Spain, where he is mostly talked about with admiration for his contribution to the modernization of the novel and with general respect for his involvement in the Spanish Civil War. One reason for this may be that his later literary production, where he deals mainly with American historical and political issues, is not so popular in Spain and has not reached the general reading public as his earlier fiction did. But, more significantly, the fact is that our view of Dos Passos has not been permeated by his political shift.

The early reception of *Manhattan Transfer* —from its first edition in 1929 until the breakout of the Spanish Civil war— was characterized by a fascination for the city of New York and the appraisal of Dos Passos's innovative technique with some objections to the crude language or its characters' morals. The Spanish reception in those years is not very different from the American reception. However, some years later we come across one major difference which is also based on political grounds. During the first half of Franco's regime (from 1939 until the 1960s), the reception of *Manhattan Transfer* was marked by censorship; I have found no traces of critical reception other than the censorship files for this period. The result was that *Manhattan Transfer* was banned for approximately 10 years in Spain (July 1948-October 1957), whereas it was never prohibited in the United States, despite the fact that some of the more conservative American critics disapproved of its language and themes.

Modern day references to *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain invariably refer to Dos Passos's friendship with the original translator of the novel, whose tragic death during the Spanish civil war is a recurring issue. This has undoubtedly contributed to keeping the name of John Dos Passos alive among Spanish readers of the 21st century.

The story of the friendship between John Dos Passos and José Robles Pazos, the Spanish translator of *Manhattan Transfer*, has been recorded by various authors and from different perspectives. Initially, I read about it in *A Twentieth Century Odissey*, John Dos Passos's biography written by Townsend Ludington (cf. 366-74). As a translator, I immediately felt sympathy for the special relationship that was built between the two young men —Pepe and Dos as their friends called them familiarly— who had first met on a train trip to Toledo in the winter of 1916 when they were both students, during Dos Passos's first visit to Spain. Their friendship built up over the years, first through correspondence and then also through visits after Robles and his wife Márgara moved to the U.S. when Pepe became a lecturer at John Hopkins University in Baltimore at the end of 1920. In 1929, the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* by Robles was published in Madrid by Cenit. The tragic death of Robles, an officer of the Republican army working as a translator for the government, possibly executed by the Russians under suspicion of espionage, meant the total departure of Dos Passos from the communist cause; for some critics (Casey or Pizer among others) this ideological shift made him less popular among American intellectuals and critics, and his literary reputation as an icon of the leftist cause turned into that of a traitor to communist ideas. More than 70 years after his death, Robles's case is still a matter for controversy, as part of the civil war literary "boom" that has taken place in Spain in the last few years. In his book *Rocinante Pierde el Camino* (1978), Baggio gives the first detailed account of Dos Passos's search for his translator friend José Robles during the Spanish Civil War, including valuable chronological and bibliographical references. Years later, Ignacio Martínez de Pisón cited Baggio's work in the prologue to his book *Enterrar a los Muertos* (2007) as the starting point of his research. Although the biographical stories told in these books are not pieces of literary

criticism on *Manhattan Transfer*, I will argue that the historical events narrated in them have positively contributed to the continuing popularity of the novel and hence, to that of John Dos Passos in 21st century Spain. I will deal the socio-cultural and historical circumstances surrounding the publishing history of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5, devoted to the textual analysis of the translation, has been divided into three main sections. The first one includes the analysis of the translation approaches in the censored passages; the second one deals with the authorship of the translations of the different editions under study; finally, the third section analyses patterns in translation approaches from a diachronic perspective. I will now briefly outline the purpose of each section.

The first part of the translation analysis deals with the censored passages. From a historical perspective, I was interested in determining whether censorship had had an impact on the Spanish text of the novel. For that purpose, I looked at the censored fragments and compared the 1929 edition by Cenit with the 1961 edition by Planeta, in order to see if the translation that had managed to cross over the censorship barrier had been mutilated or changed in any way.

The second part of the translation analysis has to do with the authorship of the translation and the different versions available. To date, there have been twenty-eight editions and/or reprints of *Manhattan Transfer* between 1929 and 2014, but in eleven of them, from 1984 onwards, the translation is not credited to José Robles Pazos, but to a non-existent José Robles Piquer (and one to an Enrique Robles)⁴. Rabadán, without explaining further, thinks that the translation credited to Robles Piquer could be a case of

⁴ See Table 2.

plagiarism (cf. *Equivalencia translémica* 170). For critics Manuel Broncano Rodríguez (235-6), and Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (199-200), it is just the same translation with slight variations, and the duplicity of translators would be explained by an unforgiveable typing error. To further complicate things, in the current editions of *Manhattan Transfer* available in Spain from booksellers, some are credited to Robles Pazos, some to Robles Piquer. And they *are* different to various degrees.

Although it could be said that the various versions do not differ greatly in quantitative terms (i.e. in the number of translation units that vary from the original version to the more recent ones), the changes that are made clearly denote intentionality and, at times, the use of different translation criteria result in different target texts.

I will start by comparing the original 1929 edition by Cenit with the two versions which were the starting point of my research, i.e. the edition by Planeta in 1961, credited to Robles Pazos, and the edition by Círculo de Lectores in 1989, credited to Robles Piquer. The reason for this choice is that both Planeta and Círculo de Lectores are major publishers in Spain, and their editions are extremely popular; chronologically speaking, those editions (1961 and 1989) have been available to a generation of readers that constitute the Spanish readership of *Manhattan Transfer* of the second half of the 20th century. After that, I will compare the edition by Cenit 1929 with the two latest editions of *Manhattan Transfer* which are currently in print in Spain, Edhasa 2005 and Debolsillo 2009 (re-printed in 2014). The “juxtaposition of the multiple versions” (cf. Venuti, *Scandals* 99) will challenge the general assumption that there is only one Spanish version of the novel under two different names, which has never been sufficiently supported by evidence. Therefore, I will analyze some fragments in particular versions —following in part Lefevere’s model for literary translation analysis (cf. *Translating Literature* 20-82)

and Berman's negative analytics (cf. *Translation*)— in order to establish that there are some differences which cannot be explained without a conscious intention on the part of the more recent translator or translators of *Manhattan Transfer* (sometimes under the name of an apparently non-existent Robles Piquer) to modify Robles Pazos's version; those variations occur independently of the translators' names. This diachronic analysis aims at exploring "the different translation effects possible at different cultural moments, allowing these effects to be studied as forms of reception affiliated with different cultural constituencies" (Venuti, *Scandals* 99).

From a translating point of view, Robles had to face the enormous difficulty of rendering into Spanish a novel which is one hundred per cent American, full of cultural references; he succeeded in his enterprise, as evidenced by the recurring re-editions of the novel and its popularity in Spain. Francisco Ayala, who wrote one of the first reviews of the Spanish edition of *Manhattan Transfer* in *Revista de Occidente* (1929), did praise Robles's translation but remarked the difficulties in rendering the peculiar shades of meaning, localisms, invented words, etc. Apart from Ayala (who mentioned difficulties), Spanish critics have never objected to Robles's translation. Well aware of the challenging enterprise completed by the translator(s) of *Manhattan Transfer*, in the third and final part of Chapter 5 I will focus on the analysis of the translation approaches used. The purpose of this final part of the analysis is to determine whether there are systematic, distinct translation approaches that characterize the translation(s) and whether there is enough evidence to support the need for a new, revised translation of *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish.

Eso es la traducción: experiencia.

Experiencia de las obras y del ser-obra,

de las lenguas y del ser-lengua. (Antoine Berman)

*The relations between an original and its translation
most clearly express the relations of one nation to another. (Goethe)*

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. On translation theories

For those unfamiliar with translation, it may seem quite a straightforward task in which the translator, a person with a good command of the languages he/she is working to and from, conveys the meaning of any given text from one of the languages into the other. In this simplistic view so commonplace, the translator may occasionally need to consult more or less bulky dictionaries, or perhaps consult some popular free translation tool to find about the meaning of the more difficult “words.” However, anyone facing the task of translating should know that it is a time-consuming, brain-storming process in which other elements need to be taken into account beyond the mere “words” in the text, and where a number of both conscious and unconscious decisions need to be taken, only to find it is not always possible to render into another language all the different shades of meaning a particular text has —from each particular translator’s perspective— in its original language and in the culture where it originated. Furthermore, the translator has to deal not only with linguistic differences, but also with cultural ones. As translation theorist Susan Bassnett puts it:

Far from being a straightforward process of linguistic transfer, translation involves complex negotiation between languages. No two languages share

the same structures, so adjustments always have to be made to accommodate the black holes that yawn when there is no equivalent in the target language for a word or an idea expressed in the source language.

(*Translation 2-3*)

1.1.1. Translation theories until the 1970s

From very early in history, different authors have dealt with the issue of translation. In his “De Optimo Genere Oratorum” from 46 BC, Roman philosopher and orator Cicero advised on good translation practice distinguishing “word for word translation” from “weighing” the words for the reader (*Translation 21*). Cicero’s arguments on translation were further developed in 95 AD by Latin teacher and writer Quintilian. In his *Instituto Oratoria*, he pointed out the role of translation as a means for improving style and developing one’s own language. His view was that, by translating Greek texts, Latin orators could develop their own writing skills (ibid 5).

Over the centuries, authors and translators have looked at translation from different perspectives, mostly dealing with the “impossibilities” of the task and discussions on what the right techniques are. In his book *Translation, History, Culture* (1992) translation theorist and comparatist André Lefevere compiled an interesting anthology of texts dealing with the problems of translation, from Cicero or St. Augustine to Alexander Pope, John Dryden or Friedrich Schleiermacher to name but a few. In his book, Lefevere shows that concerns regarding style, adequacy, equivalence and norms in translations have worried writers and translators for centuries. As Jeremy Munday says, “early theorists tended to be translators who presented a justification for their approach in a preface to the translation” and “reflected a classical view of language based on principles of clarity, logic and elegance.” Munday names the “word for word” or “sense

for sense” dyad discussed by St. Jerome and the controversy over the translation of the Bible as the most outstanding feature of translation theory for over one thousand years.

A highly influential scholar in modern translation theory and hermeneutics was German philosopher and theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), well known in translation studies for his work “Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens” [“On the different methods of translating”]⁵ which has inspired translation theorists until our days.

El texto de Schleiermacher es de vital importancia para la traductología moderna. De él se nutren Benjamin (1926), para hablar del lenguaje puro; Berman (1984), para plantear la experiencia de lo extranjero; Venuti, para argumentar la estrategia de extranjerización. (...) Los enfoques sistémicos de la traducción propuestos por Zohar o Toury tendrían también su precursor en la metodología traductora de Schleiermacher. (Pulido Correa and Vega173)

Schleiermacher distinguished between two different types of translator depending on the type of text to be translated, namely the “dolmetscher” (for commercial texts) and the “übersetzer” (for scholarly and artistic texts) (Munday 45-46). In his influential view, the translator has two main paths, beyond the word for word or sense for sense dilemma, which are either to bring the author to the target reader or to bring the target reader to the author: “Either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him” (Schleiermacher 49).

⁵ La traducción al español del texto titulada “Sobre los diferentes métodos de traducir” fue realizada por Valentín García Yebra y publicada por Miguel Ángel Vega en 1994.

In 1959, in his paper “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation” linguist Roman Jakobson discussed the problem of translatability and equivalence in meaning, which played a major role in translation studies in the next few years. He described three kinds of translation, namely intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic, and focused on the examination of linguistic meaning and equivalence. Jakobson’s theories were based on the theory of language proposed by linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). (Munday 54)

The best known models of translation strategies and procedures were the result of the taxonomy by Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet at the end of the 1950s, first published in 1958 and republished in 1995 in an English translation titled *Comparative Stylistics in English and French*. Their taxonomy became a classic and has had wide impact in translation and translator training. Vinay and Darbelnet used the term “strategy” to refer to the overall orientation of the translator (i.e. towards the source text or the target text), and the term “procedure” to refer to the specific technique or method used by the translator at a certain point in the translation. Their model had great influence in Europe in the following decades; in Spain it inspired *Introducción a la Traductología* (1977) by Gerardo Vázquez Ayora and later Valentín García Yebra’s *Teoría y Práctica de la Traducción* (1982) (cf. Munday 85-7).

Vinay and Darbelnet’s taxonomy included two translation strategies —direct and oblique— and seven different procedures. The terms used to refer to these procedures have become part of the classic meta-language of translation and are: borrowing; calque; literal translation; transposition; modulation; equivalence; adaptation. They also included some supplementary translation procedures, namely amplification; false friends; loss-

gain-compensation; explicitation; generalization. All of the above procedures, in turn, operate at three levels: lexicon, syntactic structures and message (ibid).

We come across another influential author in terms of translation meta-language in 1965, when John Catford published his book *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. He made the distinction between “formal correspondent” and “textual equivalent” and used the term *shift* to refer to “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the source language to the target language” in order to deliver textual equivalence (Catford 141 qtd. in Munday 93). He distinguished between two main types of shifts, level shifts (affecting something expressed by grammar in one language and lexis in another) and category shifts, which he subdivided into four different categories: structural shifts (syntactic); class shifts (in parts of speech); rank shifts (parts of the sentence) and intra-system shifts (provoked by non-correspondence of the source language and target language terms within a given system, i.e. number and article systems) (ibid 94).

Czech theorist Jiřy Levý (1926-1967) also wrote on translation shifts and introduced a literary aspect, what he called the “expressive function.” For Munday, the most interesting contribution by Levý is his view of the translator as author, and his concept that the “mix of authorial and translational message is the result of conscious and unconscious decision-making from the translator. Translation theorist Theo Hermans later referred to this as ‘discursive presence’ of the translator” (95). Levý’s work has influenced modern approaches to translation studies interested in the translator and his context and his book *Umění překlada* (1963) was republished in 2011 in an English translation titled *The Art of Translation* (ibid).

Renowned Spanish scholars of the 20th century also reflected on the approach to literary translation. For two major critics writing on the acceptability of literary

translation, the balance seemed to turn in favor of the source text. José Ortega y Gasset — a contemporary of Dos Passos and much admired by him— thought that the only legitimate way of approaching translations of foreign literature was to try and reach the foreign author’s world and language; acknowledging the influence of Schleiermacher (cf. Ortega 448) he thought the target language should even be taken to the limit, if necessary:

Es cosa clara que el público de un país no agradece una traducción hecha en su propia lengua. Para esto tiene de sobra con la producción de los autores indígenas. Lo que agradece es lo inverso: que, llevando al límite de lo inteligible las posibilidades de su lengua, trasparen en ella los modos de hablar propios del autor traducido. (Ortega 452)

Ortega’s conception of translation is based on the idea of knowledge and understanding, with language as the vehicle that makes such knowledge accessible. In his own words, “la ciencia actual sería imposible sin el lenguaje (...) porque el lenguaje es la ciencia primitiva” (ibid 441). Each language has its own ways of conveying meaning and silence is a fundamental —often untranslatable— part of communication.

Writer and critic Francisco Ayala, who wrote about Robles’s translation in his review of the first edition of *Manhattan Transfer* in *Revista de Occidente* back in 1929, also agreed with Ortega in the need for fidelity to the original source, “forzando la lengua hasta el límite de la elasticidad.” But he later added: “...de una obra lo que interesa traducir es no tanto su estructura formal, como su sentido, su contenido espiritual.” (*Problemas* 17)

In the mid 1960s, in an attempt to formulate a *science* of translation, American Bible translator Eugene Nida proposed a theory of equivalence to tackle the problem of the translator’s fidelities. Nida made the distinction between “formal” and “dynamic”

equivalence to refer to the translation approach focusing on the form and content of the source text in the first case, whereas in the second case, the translation approach focuses on making sure that the “relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message”, which is what he postulated as the main goal to be achieved by translators. (Nida 129) Nida’s book *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964) has been an influential work in the field of translation studies, and over the following decades translation scholars have often cited him as a major reference in modern translation approaches. Despite Nida’s contribution to translation studies, some see his work inconsistent with a truly scientific approach, since it is based on certain presumptions that cannot be scientifically measured, more specifically the translator’s capacity to fully understand the original author’s intentions and communicative situation of the source text to such an extent that he can freely adapt the form of the message to its “best” rendering in the target culture. Nida feels that the “free” translator, by privileging content and not form, is more faithful to the original meaning of the source text since he can perceive it “more fully and satisfactorily.”

Influenced by the work of Nida some Spanish translation researchers in the 1970s and 1980s looked at linguistic textual analysis as the tool for achieving a higher degree of identification or equivalence between the source language and the target language. The translation must flow as if it were a primary source text (Vázquez Ayora 215) and it is not the readers who are to be “trans-lated” or “taken to the other side”, but the original work (García Yebra, *En torno a la Traducción* 137).

For Edwin Gentzler, “Nida’s development of a translation science was motivated by a personal dislike of what he saw as a classical revival in the nineteenth century, an

emphasis on technical accuracy, an adherence to form, and a literal rendering of meaning” (*Contemporary Translation Theories* 1157). Gentzler argues that Nida’s theory was permeated by his religious beliefs, by his own faith in the spirit of the religious message in the Bible, and although legitimate, theoretically limited from a scientific point of view:

This methodology may be very useful for those translating propaganda or advertising, and it seems to work well with certain kinds of religion, but its limitations within the framework of a science of translating are obvious. Nida provides an excellent model of translation that involves the manipulation of a text to serve the interests of a religious belief, but he fails to provide the groundwork for what the west in general conceives of as “science.” (Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* 1464)

Despite recent critical views on Nida’s theory of translation as such, his approach is often cited in scholarly papers and is often present in the translation classroom; as Gentzler suggests, his approach seems to be particularly useful in translating those texts that aim at provoking a particular effect on or reaction from the target reader. For Munday, “Nida’s great achievement is to have drawn translation theory away from the stagnant ‘literal’ versus ‘free’ debate and into the modern era.” (82)

Other scholars working in American universities around Nida’s time were skeptical about theories based on the idea that reality and culture could be objectively determined as the basis for a theory of translation. In his 1966 essay “From Naming to Fiction Making”, University of Iowa professor Frederic Will questioned translation theories based on “reference to a universal objective reality.” Will held that “different

languages construct separate realities” and that “whatever a particular word refers to cannot be determined precisely.” (qtd. in Gentzler 730)

The debate between what the best approach to translation is, “word for word” or “sense for sense”, is also present today. Like two thousand years ago, some translation theorists are still discussing their loyalties —loyal to the source language or to the target language— and the extent to which a translator may diverge from an original. In Bassnett’s words:

Fierce debates have raged about the limits of a translator’s freedom, about whether a translator’s prime responsibility is to the original author or to the target language reader and, arguably, all theories of translation revolve around the extent to which a translator may be free to diverge from the original. (*Translation* 6)

1.1.2 Translation theories from the 1970s onwards

Despite the fact that some form of translation is as old as human communication, Translation Theory is a relatively new discipline from a formal point of view. In his book *Contemporary Translation Theories* (2001) Gentzler marks 1983 as a significant date in the recognition of translation theory as a distinct academic discipline, when *The Modern Language Association International Bibliography* first included it as a separate entry. Indeed, translation theory in academia had traditionally been seen as a minor area of literary or linguistic studies.

In 1981, English translation scholar Peter Newmark (1916-2011) suggested a new naming to refer to Nida’s concepts of “dynamic equivalence” and “formal equivalence”, since he was critical of Nida’s contention that an equivalent effect could be achieved.

Thus, he described “communicative translation” and “semantic translation” in the following way:

Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original. Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original. (Newmark, *Approaches* 39)

Although these descriptions clearly echo Nida’s notions, Newmark distanced himself from the principle of equivalent effect, considering it “inoperant.” Newmark’s practical approaches to translation have been very influential in translator training, although he has at times been criticized for his excessively prescriptive approach. (cf. Munday 70-2)

In the last decades of the 20th century, two major schools of translation studies developed in Europe: the German school that sees Translation as a branch of Applied Linguistics, and the Manipulation School originating in the Netherlands and Israel from the 1970s onwards (Snell-Hornby 14-25). The branch of Applied Linguistics in translation studies originated in the Leipzig school, with authors such as Wolfram Wilss, Otto Kade, Albretch Neubert or Gert Jäger. They “defined the ‘Science of Translation’ as a part of linguistics and called it Translationslinguistik. Translation was defined as a special form of “communication” following the model: S → encoding → message → decoding → R.” (Stolze 24) Translation becomes a special case of that model and the translator is the “code-switcher”, creating the “basic problem of translation”, the search for equivalents. Equivalence is the central concept looked at by these authors. However, as translation scholar Theo Hermans points out, “the more closely we look at equivalence

in translation, the more problematical the notion becomes” (46). Indeed, as a strict application of the concept is impossible since it would imply that the translated elements are “reversible” and “interchangeable”, the notion of equivalence was later redefined in terms of “like-correspondence”, “similarity” and the degree of required equivalence calculated depending on context. This notion of equivalence, which has been present in most definitions of translation, can be misleading since it is based on a utopian concept of translation (Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* 1831). Hermans agrees with this view and, like Gentzler, criticizes the notion that some are able to “prescribe what translators should do and what requirements their texts must fulfil to be accepted as translations” (48). He also adds that, being ahistorical, it lacks the necessary scope to be useful in looking at the translating activity across time.

Given the limitations that some researchers saw in the strictly linguistic approach, and the failure to successfully formulate a truly scientific theory of translation, some literary translation scholars explored other ways of looking at the translated text and developed what was called the “cultural turn” in translation studies. In 1972, in his seminal paper “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” (1972), American Dutch-based scholar James Holmes put forward the name “translation studies” as a preferable alternative to “translation science” and “translation theory.” The use of this name reflected a shift in translation scholarship towards empirical practice that sees translated texts as they appear in a given culture. Holmes’s work is considered to be groundbreaking in that he claimed a place of its own for translation as a distinct field of study, and described a framework in which he made a distinction between ‘pure’ and ‘applied’ translation studies (cf. *Translation Studies Reader* 180-92). Holmes’s framework of translation studies in turn divided pure translation studies into ‘theoretical’ and

‘descriptive’. In the following years, scholars working in this direction such as Toury, Gentzler or Snell-Hornby acknowledged Holmes’s paper as a ‘founding statement’ of the discipline (cf. Munday 2201), and drew on Descriptive Translation Studies and turned the epistemological stance of translation theory from “positivism” to “relativism”, “from a belief in finding universal standard of phenomena to a belief that phenomena are influenced (if not determined) by the observer” (Marinetti 26).

In the next section I will focus on the origins and development of the descriptive approach, which provides the basic framework of my analysis of the translations of *Manhattan Transfer*.

1.2. The descriptive approach to literary translation analysis

Hermans uses the term “invisible College” (7), to refer to the group of scholars that in the last decades of the 20th century approached translation from a systemic, observational, empirical perspective, and who see translation as a form of manipulation. They had met at three successive conferences held in Leuven 1976, Tel-Aviv 1978 and Antwerp 1980. What they had in common is “a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system” and a “conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies” (Hermans 32).

The name Manipulation School comes from an anthology of essays published in 1985 and edited by Theo Hermans entitled *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*. The central concept is that translation is a manipulation of the source text, and literature is not studied in isolation but within its social, historical and cultural context. They see literary translated texts not as a minor version of the original,

but as literary texts in their own right. These scholars focus in the descriptive study of translations, and not in the process of translating.

The so called Manipulation School was not interested in the formulation of translation guidelines or quality assessment norms, and in its origins, approached translation studies as a branch of comparative literature. They see translation as part of a much broader cultural system, and consider other factors that may influence the translator's work, such as politics, power, society, culture, etc. They also focus in the study of translations as texts in their own right, not subordinated to the source language text. The most common name for this approach is "descriptive", as in "descriptive approach" or "descriptive translation studies", as opposed to the "prescriptive" approach by the German school. For Hermans, the target oriented approach is "a way of asking questions about translations without reducing them to purely vicarious objects explicable only in terms of their derivation" (39). Sometimes it is also referred to as the "polysystem approach" since the Manipulation School shared in the cultural, target-orientedness approach of the polysystem scholars.

1.2.1 Polysystem theory

The name polysystem derives from the work of a group of academics in the mid 1970s who —led by Benjamin Hrushovski from Tel Aviv University and, more influentially in the field of translation studies, by Itamar Even-Zohar— worked on the development of the polysystem theory.

With the concept of system taken from Russian Formalism as a starting point, in the 1970s Even-Zohar claimed that literature should not be studied as an isolated activity, but instead taking into account all the various socio-cultural factors that have a transformational influence on it at different times. The term *system* in this context was

first defined by Tynyanov (1929) to denote “a multilayered structure of elements which relate to and interact with each other” (Shuttleworth 197). Even-Zohar, however, understood the concept of *system* as something more dynamic than did his Russian predecessors, and thus he proposed the term *polysystem*, in order to escape more static interpretations of the concept by previous theorists (Even-Zohar 9-13).

So how did Even-Zohar conceive the polysystem model? He conceived it as a “heterogeneous, hierarchical system of systems that interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole” (Shuttleworth 197). In this way, the *system* of literature of any given country, for example, is seen within a larger socio-cultural *polysystem*, also formed by other systems such as the political, religious or artistic ones. From this broader perspective, literature is not seen as a static set of texts, but in conjunction with a number of factors that determine their production and reception, among other things. Furthermore, the literary system also functions as a polysystem in itself, since it is constituted by different “subsystems”, including also translated literature. At the same time, these systems or polysystems are dynamic, and “compete” with each other for the “dominant position.” Thus, for Even-Zohar the individual study of literary works in isolation is not an end in itself; he wants to find the “laws” determining literature as part of a “multiple system” that functions as a “structured whole” with “interdependent members” (Even-Zohar, *Polysystem* 11).

The literary polysystem is formed by different strata and subdivisions; there is a constant tension between the centre and the periphery of the system. But, unlike previous scholars, Even-Zohar does not only look at “high” or “canonized” literature; his scope is much broader and would be formed by all genres, including those texts that would normally be rejected by more traditional scholarly studies. Thus, texts such as children’s

literature, popular fiction and translated works also fall within the domain of literary studies from the polysystem perspective, with a non-prescriptive approach.

According to Even-Zohar, the so called “low” genres would normally remain in the periphery, but it is precisely their existence that makes it possible for other genres to occupy the “centre” of the system. Without that “tension” or competition, the system would not develop. Innovative texts (called *primary* by Even-Zohar) compete with conservative texts (or *secondary*) for reaching the centre of the system, and once they do, secondary genres occupy a more peripheral position or perhaps succumb to newer models. Thus, dynamism is always present, both synchronically and diachronically.

Much of Even-Zohar’s work deals mainly with the study of the role which translation plays within a particular literary polysystem and the wider theoretical implications for translation studies in general.

Translated texts within any given polysystem may seem isolated, but Even-Zohar argues there are some relationships between them (cf. *ibid* 45-6), mainly regarding the selection principles when considering prospective translations by dominant poetics within the system, and also as regards to the tendency to “adapt” or “conform” to the literary norms of the target system. In this sense, translated literature would constitute a “subsystem” within the target polysystem.

Even-Zohar also reflected on the role of translated literature within a given polysystem. Traditional literary studies have not paid much attention to translated literature, so this might lead us to think that translated literature invariably occupies a peripheral position. However, according to Even-Zohar there are some circumstances in which translated literature may occupy a more central position. These instances are basically three (46-8). The first one is in the case of “young” literature, when the

polysystem is in process of being built. In these cases, translated works are usually taken as models on which to initiate a system of their own. The second one has to do with the “weakness” of the original literature of a given polysystem, in cases where the presence of foreign literature from more dominant cultures displaces the native writers’ texts. The third instance occurs in moments of crisis; when older, more established models are no longer strong, translated texts tend to be adopted as models and thus, maybe momentarily, occupy the centre of the system. Therefore, when translated literature enters the target polysystem, it does so in basically two ways. It either conforms to the target polysystem or introduces innovation in it. As a result of this, the position occupied by translated literature in a given polysystem, in turn determines the way in which such translations are approached, since translation is seen as “an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system” (51). So, Even-Zohar proposes a non-prescriptive approach to translation, by acknowledging the fact that the parameters used in the translation process are dictated by the models which are operative at that particular moment in the target polysystem (Shuttleworth 199).

Translation scholars following this line of research are not focused in applying a certain translation theory to the translation of literary texts, but “rather they analyze literary translations the way they are given. Thus one may detect the underlying translation procedure, cultural norms and traditions of translating, as well as the impact of translations on the target polysystem” (Stolze 28).

1.2.2. Toury’s norms

Even-Zohar’s colleague at Tel-Aviv University, Gideon Toury, abandoned the idea of “adequate” translations and emphasized the importance of case studies, in order to illustrate the productivity of any given theory, and as researcher José Lambert in Leuven,

he saw theory “in terms of its applicability as a research tool.” (Hermans, *Translation in Systems* 34) This turn in theoretical approaches is described by Hermans like this:

It was against the background of such prescriptive and ahistorical approaches to translation that Gideon Toury’s proposals acquired their revolutionary hue. Toury effectively turned the relation between translation and equivalence on its head. He claimed that instead of looking at translation as it should be, we should look at it empirically, at what it is. (Hermans, *Translation in Systems* 49)

For this group, the primary aim of translation research is not to formulate value judgments, but to carry out useful research that sheds light on problems, rather than prescribing ready-to-apply rules. Toury shared the “target oriented, functional” approach of the *skopos* theory of translation which Hans Vermeer and Katharina Reiss developed in their book *Grundlegung einer allgemeine Translationstheorie*. (Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies* 25). *Skopos* means “purpose” in Greek and, in this context, it refers to the purpose of the translational activity. This so called functionalist approach combined the advances in linguistic studies with a consideration of culture. Reiss associated language functions with texts types and translating strategies, in an attempt to formulate a theory of translation applicable to any kind of text. However, it could not be successfully applied to most literary texts, as translation scholar Christiane Nord later criticized. (Nord 109-22, qtd. in Munday 125)

Whereas Vermeer and his group aimed at giving translation guidelines for professional translating, Toury and the rest of members of his school were mainly involved in the study of literary translation. He introduced the idea of “norms” that affect a translator’s decisions in an attempt to redefine the concept of equivalence. In his book

In Search of a Theory of Translation (1980), Toury distinguished between what he called “preliminary norms” and “operational norms.” For Toury, preliminary norms are those that affect the choice of the texts to be translated, as well as the source language from which these are to be translated. Operational norms, or those that determine the translator’s decision making, were in turn subdivided into (a) matricial norms, which determine the macro-structure of the text and govern decisions such as translating all or omitting parts, etc.; and (b) textual-linguistic norms, which affect decisions on the text’s micro-level, the details of sentence construction, word choice, etc. He also defined “initial norm” as the norm that governs the translator’s choice between two polar alternatives: fidelity to the source text and adapting the translation to usage in the target culture. Thus, the notions of “acceptable” and “adequate” in translation were replaced by “target oriented” and “source oriented” respectively. (cf. Hermans, *Translation in Systems* 75-6)

1.2.3. The Leuven group

The systemic, contextual approach proposed by Even-Zohar and Toury was adopted by Leuven scholars José Lambert and Hendrick Van Gorp in the development of a descriptive model for literary translation analysis in a practical research context. The model is conceived as a multilevel operation based on a communication scheme and on a checklist for guidance in the practical procedure.

The communication scheme described by Lambert and Van Gorp includes the terms “system 1” and “system 2” to refer to source culture and target culture respectively; “author 1” and “author 2” to refer to “text 1” writer and “text 2” translator, and “reader 1” and “reader 2” to refer to the corresponding readers in each culture system. There is a communication chain author-text-reader which happens both in the source and target cultures. Part of the analysis would consist in establishing the correlation between the two

communication chains, for which it is necessary to look at translation as a cultural phenomenon in a broader setting (Hermans 64-6).

Lambert and Van Goorp's practical procedure is captured in a checklist (qtd. in Hermans 66) which proposes four main steps: preliminary data; macro-level; micro-level and context. Let's now have a look at what each of these steps would entail.

In the initial step of looking at the preliminary data, we would include the observation of the outward presentation of the text (publisher's list of other titles, whether the book is part of a series, binding, illustrations, information on the cover); this is what other authors refer to as "paratexts." Comparison with other similar texts is recommended for similarities and differences.

The macro-level description looks at chapter divisions, omissions, overall handling of the plot, typographical conventions, proper names and culture-specific elements. Micro-level analysis, on the other hand, looks at the details of the text. It may focus on grammatical patterns and literary structures, vocabulary, stylistic features, etc., or concentrate on micro-level shifts. Lambert and Van Gorp's procedure does not aim to look at all of these aspects in the whole text in minute detail, since it would be impracticable. The purpose is to find enough elements for analysis that can be referred back to the findings of the macro-level analysis. Finally, in the context phase, the model confronts patterns of the individual texts with analysis of other texts (i.e. other translations by the same translator or prevailing models and norms of text production in the target culture). As Hermans sums up, for Lambert and Van Goorp "translation analysis involves the exploration of two entire communication processes rather than two texts." (65)

1.3. The cultural turn in Translation Studies

As explained above, researchers of the Manipulation School –most notably Hermans and Toury– argued that translation has always served a purpose shaped by a certain force (power) and it cannot be studied as an isolated activity. Taking their influences from the polysystem theory, descriptive translation studies and the Manipulation School, Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere worked together in the late 1980s and early 1990s focusing on the cultural aspects of translation and claiming a place for Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right, alongside with Linguistics and Comparative Literature but independent from them. Their work is the best representation of the so called “cultural turn” in translation studies, together with that of Lawrence Venuti, whose views will also be dealt with later. As Spanish translation scholar África Vidal noted, feeding from Hans J. Vermeer and José Lambert: “En el umbral del nuevo milenio [...] Nos percatamos de la insuficiencia de tomar el texto como unidad de traducción. [...] La traducción como producto cultural y el proceso de traducir como un procedimiento sensible a la cultura amplían estos conceptos de traducción y traducir más allá de lo meramente lingüístico.” (“Palabras y flores”126)

1.3.1. *Translation as rewriting*

André Lefevere was best known for his work on translation seen as a form of rewriting of the literary text. For Lefevere, those who “rewrite” literature “are responsible for the general reception and survival of works of literature among non professional readers” (*Translation, Rewriting* 1). Indeed, the reason why some texts are not forgotten does not lie in their “intrinsic value” alone, but on those “rewriters” who keep them alive. These would include critics, scholars, publishers and, of course, translators.

Lefevere argued that the study of literature should inevitably include the study of rewritings. The reason for this is that rewritings (not only translations but also film, critical reception, publicity and the media, etc.) and not the original, canonical texts are the primary mode of consumption and appreciation of literature in modern times. In his book *Translating Literature* Lefevere says: “Rewriting is simply a cultural given of our time. The images of a literary work created by translations and other rewritings are far more likely to attract non-professional readers than the work’s strength or venerability as an original is.” (Lefevere, *Translating Literature* 7)

This focus on rewriting contributed to broaden the horizon of Translation Studies beyond linguistics and text analysis at the same time showing translations as a valuable tool for the study of literature. Translation becomes a powerful vehicle for cultural construction in that it helps create the image of a nation’s own identity against others, but also by constructing refracted images of foreign authors and their cultures (Marinetti 26-27).

Lefevere, along similar lines of thought to those of Toury and Hermans, proposed a system for translation analysis that included the study of the “control factors” that are behind the manipulation of literature. He defined them under the concept of “patronage” which is “any power (person, institution) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature.” This patronage operates at three levels, namely ideology, economics and status. Across history, the same or different agents may have exercised those powers (15).

Basnett and Lefevere saw translation as a result of the historical context and the dominant poetics, as something that cannot be explained through the mere study of the correspondence between languages. Thus, translation is seen as a tool for cultural power,

where translators use their own ideology to manipulate the text or adapt it to the target culture in search of acceptability (*Translation, History, Culture* 65 qtd. in Marinetti 26).

In his book *Translating Literature: Practice and Theory in a Comparative Context* (1992), Lefevere pointed out some of the problems a literary translator faces regarding language, text and context and gives some practical examples of what to look for in translation analysis. I will now briefly explain the most relevant aspects of his views.

When looking at language problems the literary translator may face, Lefevere assumes that the translator (or translator trainee) has reached a level of language proficiency which allows him/her to command the standard, non illocutionary language, in the corresponding language pair. It is in illocutionary language, however, where the translator may find more difficulties and thus, the more interesting aspects of translation analysis at language level may arise. Illocutionary language is defined as “the level of language usage on which language is used primarily for effect” (17). Lefevere isolates the different language problems translators may encounter and suggests the analysis of what other translators’ solutions have been in the past as a valuable tool to help us decide on similar literary translation situations. His list of language issues includes: alliteration; allusion (biblical, classical, cultural, literary); foreign words; genre; grammatical norms; metaphor; names; neologisms; off-rhyme; parody; poetic diction; pun; register; rhyme and meter; sound and nonsense; syntax; typography; calques provoked by culture-bound terms. For each case, he gives English examples of small fragments containing these literary, expressive devices, suggesting that each translator can then go back to the target culture versions of those texts to check what the solutions have been in the past and consider what approaches have been used, not only on a strictly linguistic basis but also from a historical perspective.

Apart from the translation of illocutionary language, Lefevere distinguishes between three other sets of problems that influence the way in which any given translation is approached, namely “ideology”, “dominant poetics in the target culture”, “universe of discourse”, and finally “language”, in order of importance. Hierarchically, ideology would be the foremost determining factor:

Translators are interested in getting their work published. This will be achieved much more easily if it is not in conflict with standards for acceptable behavior in the target culture: with that culture’s ideology. If the source text clashes with the ideology of the target culture, translators may have to adapt the text so that the offending passages are either severely modified or left out altogether. (*Translating Literature* 87)

Next in degree of influence would be the dominant poetics in the target culture at the time the translation is made. Translators tend to adapt their translations to the “dominant concept of literature” in the target culture. Finally, and more particularly so with new translations of older texts, some of the elements of the writer’s universe of discourse may not exist anymore, or may have changed –this is also an influential factor on the translator’s approach.

The main purpose of Lefevere’s approach to translation analysis is not to spot mistakes, but to find what he calls “patterns for deviations.” Isolated deviations from the source text may be considered as translation mistakes; however, if through exhaustive translation analysis we are able to find a pattern in those deviations, we would find interpretation keys for that particular translator’s strategy towards the text (cf. 109).

In the same way as other translation theorists favor a cultural approach to translation, for Lefevere the context in which a translation is made plays a determining

role. Sharing his views with Toury and Hermans from the Manipulation School, what he calls “authority” factors determine the translation approach. Under “authority”, Lefevere refers to the concept of “patronage”, seen not only as the dominant powers of a given culture, but also as regards the power that one culture may exercise over another culture, or how “influential” a text may be considered in a given culture, since those texts are normally approached in a more faithful, literal way. Just as Hermans, who said that “translation is interesting because it gives first-hand evidence of the prejudice of perception” (95), Lefevere argues that translations give us valuable information about the target culture, and very often play the role of “preserving” it. “Translations not only project an image of the work that is translated; they also project their own world against images that are radically different, either by adapting them or by screening them out” (cf. *ibid* 125).

Another interesting issue raised by Lefevere is how the translator’s understanding or misunderstanding of the source language universe of discourse affects the target text and culture. So, when a translator is too familiar with the source language universe of discourse, the result may be a “naturalization of the exotic” in the translation. The opposite case is when the translator does not understand the original’s universe of discourse and the result would be a translation deviated from the original meaning. For Lefevere, some translators tend to maintain the elements of the universe of discourse belonging to the culture they consider central, whereas others will keep the exotic elements when they have a special resonance in their own culture/universe of discourse. In his own words: “On the whole, translators more painstakingly retain universe-of-discourse features belonging to a culture they consider central. Some may decide to retain

the exotic flavor at all costs if the exotic has a special flavor in their own universe of discourse”(127). Acculturation happens as cultures grow closer together.

1.3.2. The translator as protagonist

In recent years, scholars and academics have claimed more recognition for translation studies as an awareness of the crucial role of the translator gains momentum. Gender and post-colonial studies have also permeated translation studies, which have opened up a very interesting field of research regarding how translation is affected by ideology and to what extent it may reshape taboo issues regarding gender in the target culture, or the image of the colonized, for example (Munday 191-210).

One interesting view is that of Lawrence Venuti, who has raised ethical questions about the invisibility of translators, claiming that low status and low payment is connected to the translator’s invisibility that has been traditionally considered by some theorists as the greatest virtue. If the work of translators is invisible, the foreign text is domesticated and the concept of authorship in a translation vanishes. In such circumstances, the act of translating involves “an appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas, cultural, economic, political” (Venuti 1995: 18). In Basnett’s words, “Venuti attacks domestication as an undesirable expression of a complacent culture, unwilling to engage with otherness” (*Translation* 107).

1.3.3. The negative analytic in translation

Preceding and influencing Venuti in his dislike for the tendency to negate the foreign in translation, French theorist Antoine Berman (1942-1991) reflected on the extent to which a translation assimilates a foreign text (cf. Munday 221-22). With an interesting insight into the translation process, Berman thought that the ethical way to approach the act of translation was to respect the foreign as foreign, but observed that

there was as system of textual deformations that influenced the translator in this endeavour.

It is important to note here that Berman focused on the analysis of translation of literary prose texts (essays and novels). From a formal point of view, Berman writes, “literary prose collects, reassembles and intermingles the polylingual space of a community. It mobilizes and activates the totality of ‘languages’ that coexist in any language” (288). For Berman, this gives novels some kind of formal “shapelessness” or apparent “lack of control” on the part of the writer which makes translated novels likely to be subject to deformations by the translator, often in an unconscious way.

The Babelian proliferation of languages in novels pose specific difficulties for translation. If one of the principal problems of poetic translation is to respect the polysemy of the poem (cf. Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*), then the principal problem of translating the novel is to respect its shapeless *polylogic* and avoid an arbitrary homogenization.” (287)

Berman thinks that the massacring of a poem through translation is easy to detect, whereas it’s not so easy to see “what was done to a novel by Kafka or Faulkner, particularly if the translation seems good”, hence the urgency to “elaborate an analytic for the translation of novels” (ibid), what he termed a “negative analytic.”

This negative analytic concerns “ethnocentric, annexationist translations and hypertextual translations (pastiche, adaptation, free writing), where the play of deforming forces is freely exercised” (Berman 278 qtd. in Munday 222). Berman listed twelve tendencies in translation approaches that reduce the characteristic linguistic variety and creativity of prose literary texts, as follows: rationalization; clarification; expansion; ennoblement; qualitative impoverishment; quantitative impoverishment; the destruction

of rhythms; the destruction of underlying networks of signification; the destruction of linguistic patternings; the destruction of vernacular networks or their exoticization; the destruction of expressions and idioms; and the effacement of the superimposition of languages (Berman 4).

To counterbalance such negative analytic, he proposed a “positive analytic” that aims at rendering the foreign element in the text by “restoring the particular signifying process of works” and “transforming the translating language” (Berman 288-9 qtd. in Munday 222-4). I will now briefly explain each of Berman’s “deforming tendencies” since I will refer to them later when I describe some of the translation approaches in the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*.

The first three deforming tendencies formulated by Berman are closely linked together, these being—as mentioned above— rationalization, clarification and expansion. Rationalization for Berman bears mainly on punctuation, “the most meaningful and changeable element in a prose text” (Berman 4). In this context, rationalization operates by the rearrangement of sentences and their sequence according to some discursive order. But rationalization may also refer to the reversal of the “relations which prevail in the original between formal and informal, ordered and disorderly, abstract and concrete” (ibid 5). Clarification, the second deforming tendency described by Berman, is a kind of rationalization that specifically concerns the level of clarity. Though Berman admits some form of clarification—also referred to as explicitation—is inherent in translation, it may have two different effects. On the one hand, a positive, illuminating effect on the meaning of the text: something that was not so apparent becomes more visible; on the other hand, however, it may negatively affect the sense of the target text in that it “aims to make clear in the text what does not wish to be clear in the original” (ibid). Forms of clarification

include the movement from polysemy to monosemy, as well as “paraphrastic” translation. To finish with this first set of deforming tendencies, we will refer to expansion, which Berman understood as a consequence of the previous two (ibid 6). “Rationalizing and clarifying require expansion, an *unfolding* of what, in the original, is *folded*.” At its worst, expansion over-translates the text and may “impair the rhythmic flow of the work.” (ibid)

The next set of deforming tendencies that Berman describes includes ennoblement, qualitative impoverishment and quantitative impoverishment. Ennoblement refers to the tendency some translators have to either produce more elegant renderings than those found in the source text or, the contrary tendency, to “popularize” the original — both in a kind of “stylistic exercise.” Qualitative impoverishment happens when the translator, often unconsciously, substitutes words that are iconic or have a special “flavour”, “colour” or “vividness” in the source language, by more neutral words in the target language. When this is done in a systematic way, “it decisively effaces a good portion of its signifying process and mode of expression —what makes a work *speak* to us” (ibid 6-7). Finally, when there is lexical loss in the translation, Berman speaks of quantitative impoverishment. Indeed, when a writer chooses to use two or more signifiers to refer to one signified, even in an unfixed way, it is a sign of the relevance of that signified reality in the work as a whole. If the translator does not spot this multiplicity or ignores it, makes the target text poorer. “The translation that attends to the lexical texture of the work, to its mode of lexicality — enlarges it.” (ibid 7)

Next in the series of deforming tendencies that Berman described, we come across the destruction of five different elements that may be present in the source text, namely rhythms (not exclusive of poetry); underlying networks of signification (networks that provide the text with connections that mark the tone of the argument); linguistic

patternings that characterize a particular work or author; the destruction of vernacular networks or their exoticization; and the destruction of expressions and idioms. Let us look at this last deforming tendency. It is interesting to note that for Berman, translation strategies that involve finding equivalences in idioms and expressions between source and target cultures constitutes an ethnocentric approach to translation which is unnecessary and absurd. Quoting French translator Valéry Larbaud, “the desire to replace [proverbs] ignores [...] the existence in us of a proverb consciousness which immediately detects, in a new proverb, the brother of an authentic one: the world of our proverbs is thus augmented and enriched.” (Larbaud qtd. in Berman 10)

The last tendency mentioned by Berman is the effacement of the superimposition of languages. Indeed, prose writing often includes the co-existence of two or more common languages, which is often threatened by translation, since the standard approach is to keep the target text completely homogeneous. For Berman:

This is the central problem posed by translating novels — a problem that demands maximum reflection from the translator. Every novelistic work is characterized by linguistic superimpositions, even if they include sociolects, idiolects, etc. [...] Thomas Mann’s novel *The Magic Mountain* offers a fascinating example of heteroglossia which the translator, Maurice Betz, was able to preserve [...] Maurice Betz let Thomas Mann’s German resonate in his translation to such an extent that the three kinds of French [the two heroes’ and the translator’s] can be distinguished, and each possesses its specific foreignness. [...] This is the sort of success —not quite impossible, certainly difficult— to which every translator of a novel ought to aspire. (Berman 11)

For Berman, ethnocentric approaches to literary translation have a deforming effect on the target language text. The simple restitution of meaning should not be the goal of literary translation and claims for a type of translation that “on the one hand, restores the particular signifying process of works (which is more than their meaning) and, on the other hand, transforms the translating language.” (ibid 12)

1.3.4. New Perspectives

Globalization and new technologies have boosted the translational activity to an unprecedented scale. There is need for fast, reliable translation in almost every sphere of life, and this has in turn made the translation industry demand quality training, based on increasing research. Translation in the 21st century is no longer just about linguistic problems, but has acquired a transversal dimension which makes specialist knowledge more and more necessary. Research on different areas of specialized legal, financial, audiovisual or scientific translation has occupied an important position in translation conferences and university translator training. Never before in History has translation had such an impact on business, access to information, culture, entertainment, travel, education, health, science, technology, etc., but also and very importantly, on international politics, peace and war. As American professor Emily Apter wrote: “The urgent, political need for skilled translators became abundantly clear in the tragic wake of 9/11, as institutions charged with protecting national security scrambled to find linguistically proficient specialists to decode intercepts and documents.” (3) The discipline is being reshaped by the impact of electronic communication on the humanities, and the explosion of world language usage on the Internet has made “everything translatable.” (cf. ibid 226-27)

Some translation analysts are now working in a fascinating area of research: how much of the translator's style and ideology can be traced in the target text. In 2003, translation scholar Kirsten Malmkjaer termed this type of analysis as "translational stylistics." Corpus-based research and new technologies have helped advance this field of research, which attempts at tracing "the linguistic fingerprint of the translator." One of the foremost 21st century translation scholarship themes has become stylistic analysis and its link to the identity, intention, and ideology of the translator (cf. Munday 95).

The analysis of power in post-colonial studies in translation and the work of Lefevere on the ideological component of rewriting have contributed to the examination of ideology and power in translation contexts by scholars such as Venuti (1992), Gentzler and Tymoczko (2002), or Cunico and Munday (2007) (ibid 209).

The study of translators and their contexts, rather than the texts and cultures, has become central in contemporary translation studies research, interconnected with sociology, historiography and gender studies. In Spain, the history of translation has interested a number of scholars, such as Miguel Ángel Vega (2005), Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute (2004), Rosa Rabadán (2000) and Catalonia based Australian scholar Anthony Pym (2014).

The creativity of the translational activity, the ideological positionality of the translator, the power network of the publishing industry are other current translation studies issues present in recent research (Munday 226-29). In this area of research, Pym's article "The Translator as Nonauthor and I'm Sorry About That" (2014) is an interesting reconsideration of Venuti's views on translation authorship, in which Pym makes interesting points about the differentiating elements in the creativity of an original author versus that of a translator.

Finland-based English scholar Andrew Chesterman speaks of ‘consilience’ or the coming together of trends in translation studies research. For this author, there are four approaches to translation research, namely “(1) the textual, (2) the cognitive, (3) the sociological and (4) the cultural.” These approaches are not seen by Chesterman as hermetical compartments, and in his view their association produces a better understanding of the object of study, translation. (cf. Chesterman, “Towards consilience?” 28).

Spanish scholar Virgilio Moya also noted the different elements which influence translation research and analysis, describing the process as complex and multifactorial:

[...] No solo habrá que tener en cuenta el texto original, la lengua término, el tiempo en el que se lleva a cabo la traducción, la cultura receptora, la literatura traducida y su papel dentro de esa cultura, la función de la traducción, las normas de Toury, etc., sino también la ideología y la poética, tanto las de la época como las del propio traductor, el universo del discurso original, el oro que moldea la traducción y, sobre todo, el poder que dicta el contenido de las normas o lo que es correcto o no, etc. (152)

The traditional divide between linguistic and cultural approaches in Translation studies is now being challenged by contemporary translation scholars. For Munday, “the important point is that translation is not limited to the words on the page. It is an intercultural and interlinguistic product of a complex process that involves human and institutional agents [...] operating in specific sociocultural, geographical and historical conditions.”(297)

By his very nature, man has to know. (John Dos Passos)

How fine to die in Denia

Young in the ardent strenght of sun

Calm in the burning blue of the sea

(John Dos Passos)

CHAPTER 2

JOHN DOS PASSOS, THE WRITER

2.1. Life and major works

When *Manhattan Transfer* was first published in November 12, 1925 by Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, John Dos Passos was just 29 years of age. It was Dos Passos's sixth published work, and his fourth novel. *One Man's Initiation* (1920), *Three Soldiers* (1921), *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922), *A Pushcart at the Curb* (1922), and *Streets of Night* (1923) had come before. Young Dos Passos (1896-1970) was already becoming a reputed writer after the success of *Three Soldiers* (1921), his novel on the ill effects of war on the individual and on society, on which he had worked during his second stay in Spain in 1919-1920 (cf. Ludington, *A Twentieth Century Odissey* 188-193). However, the peak of his career as a novelist came in 1938 with the publication of the trilogy *U.S.A.* that included *The 42nd Parallel* (1930), *1919* (1932) and *The Big Money* (1936).

According to David Minter, an American expert in 20th century literature, the interests cultivated by Dos Passos in his youth, namely experimental art, history and reform politics "gave interest to the rest of his life" (165). John Roderigo Dos Passos was born on January 14, 1896, in a Chicago hotel room along the shore of Lake Michigan, the illegitimate son of Lucy Addison Sprigg Madison and John Randolph Dos Passos, a wealthy New York attorney of Portuguese descent. There are no records of his birth

because at this time Cook County, Illinois, did not require all births to be registered; this made it possible for his father to adopt him as his stepson in 1912 after marrying Lucy when he was left a widower on the death of his first wife. All critics insist on Dos Passos's "hotel childhood" as a feature that marked his identity as a writer. Indeed, he spent long periods in Europe, and attended school first in England and then in Connecticut. Later he attended Harvard, where he graduated in 1916. He was an avid reader, but he was also extremely fond of experimental art and architecture, history, politics and travel.

Noted Dos Passos scholar Townsend Ludington wrote the most comprehensive and detailed biography of the American writer in his monograph *John Dos Passos, A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1980). Professor Virginia Spencer Carr wrote a second biography titled *Dos Passos, A Life*, which was first published in 1984. Both have been invaluable resources for my research on Dos Passos. For the purpose of this thesis I will focus on those which I consider are the most relevant aspects of his life, and more particularly on those which connect his life and works to Spain.

As Dos Passos tells us in his autobiography *The Best Times* (1966), it was in 1916 that he travelled to Spain for the first time. The trip was organised by his father, who disapproved of Dos Passos's idea of joining the Norton-Harjes volunteer ambulance unit during World War I, and offered him the possibility of a stay in Madrid instead. He would learn Spanish and study architecture. "I have letters to three poets and other amusing people [...] I shall live at the Residencia des Estudiantes (however one spells it) and study architecture and the Bible like mad- also Cervantes, Calderón..." (*Best Times* 27). Dos Passos recalls that he sailed to Bordeaux on the *Espagne* on October 14, 1916, on the same day that *The New Republic* published the first piece of writing he had ever been paid

for, an article titled “Against American Literature.” Upon his arrival in Madrid, Dos Passos wrote to his good friend Rumsey Marvin (whom he called “Rummy” familiarly). Townsend Ludington, Dos Passos’s most prominent biographer, collected that first letter from Spain in which Dos Passos feels fascinated by *chocolate*, the Sierra de Guadarrama, *botijos*, donkeys and mules, multi-coloured shawls and the hours *madrileños* keep:

October 20th, 1916

Dear Rummy:

Madrid! The chocolate they give one for breakfast is divine, there is a lovely view from some parts of town of the mountain chain of the Sierra Guadarrama, the streets abound in donkeys and mules with lovely jingly harness inlaid with brass and red enamel, there are lots of Goya’s little ragamuffins about, and people actually use pottery water bottles of the most divine shape [...]

Its rather funny; the Madrileños seem to have a deathly fear of the night air and just as I came in everyone was appearing like this [refers to a sketch], muffled to the eyes – Some of them wear the gayest colored ones, red and green, purple and yellow-its something splendid. Another amusing feature of Madrid is the hours it keeps: One has *dèjeneur á la fourchette* – *almuerzo*- at about one or two and then dinner between nine and ten at night. No one seems to get up in the morning and as late as I have ever been up the *café*s and things seem to be in full blast. My Spanish is almost nil and I have the gayest time making myself understood. [.../...]

(Reproduced in Ludington, *Fourteenth Chronicle* 50-51)

While in Madrid, he had the opportunity to visit the nearby towns (Segovia, Aranjuez, Toledo, El Pardo) and also the mountains and the Castilian countryside. These trips inspired part of his book *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922). He made some of them in the company of two of his Harvard friends who had come to visit, but also of his new Spanish acquaintances; among them José (Pepe) Giner, a nephew of Giner de los Ríos the great educator, and José Robles Pazos, his closest Spanish friend who would translate *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) into Spanish a decade later and whose death during the Spanish civil war would be central to Dos Passos's political disillusionment after 1937.

During that first stay in Madrid, Dos Passos was no ordinary student or tourist; his father's friend Juan Riaño —a Spanish teacher in West Point— provided young Dos Passos with some introductory letters that led him to the cultural *élite* of Madrid; he immersed himself in Spanish literature and art, popular culture and flamenco; also he met Juan Ramón Jiménez, and went to cafés and *tertulias* where he had the opportunity to be introduced to Valle Inclán. As Dos Passos writes in his memoirs, *The Best Times*:

The letters Juan Riaño furnished my father couldn't have been better chosen. They were to journalists and literary people of what was then known as the generation of 1898. In spite of my immense bashfulness I found myself having tea with Juan Ramón Jiménez [...] and being introduced to the formidable spadebearded Valle Inclán at three in the morning in a drafty café. (30)

In January 1917 Dos Passos travelled to the east coast of Spain (Gandía, Játiva, Valencia, Sagunto) and on his return he had initially planned to stay in Madrid at least

until Spring. However, his father's sudden death made him return to America in February 1917.

From that first trip to Spain Dos Passos took back with him a sincere admiration for Spanish culture and for its people that was well grounded in his knowledge of the country. The impressions of that first visit were recollected in "Young Spain", published in *Seven Arts*, August 1917.

Dos Passos returned to Europe (France and Italy) in the fall of 1917 to serve as an ambulance driver in World War I until 1919. In August that same year he came back to Spain, where he visited the Basque country, Cantabria, Madrid, Granada and Barcelona. His stay was longer this time—from August 1919 to April 1920—and it resulted in more materials for the completion of the writings he had initiated during his former visit: *A Pushcart at the Curb* (1922) and *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922). Among the writers he had the opportunity to meet this second time were Ramón J. Sender, Maurice Coindreau⁶, and Antonio Machado whom he visited in Segovia. He developed his admiration for the writers of *Generación del 98*, particularly Pío Baroja whom he admired both ideologically and artistically. He also worked on the novel that was to become his first success: *Three Soldiers* (1921). Some of Dos Passos's most beautiful watercolors are from this period. In the spring of 1920 he spent a few days in Mallorca in the company of his good friend Kate Drain, John Howard Lawson's⁷ wife, and his sister Adelaide who was an artist herself. For Nanney, in Mallorca Dos Passos produced "several technically

⁶ According to Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (2005:39) it was Pepe Robles who introduced Dos Passos to Maurice Coindreau at the Ateneo. Coindreau would later translate some of his works into French.

⁷ John Howard Lawson, a playwright and social activist, met Dos Passos on board the *Chicago* on their way to Europe during World War One. He later became one of Dos Passos's closest friends in the 1920s. They shared interests, political ideas and projects, and they worked together in the New Playwrights Theater. Their friendship broke upon discrepancies on the Spanish Civil War in 1937.

accomplished, beautiful watercolors, some of the best examples of his impressionist style” (Nanney 152).

In the coming years Dos Passos continued to travel extensively in the Middle East (Spring 1921-January 1922), Morocco (1925-1926), Mexico (December 1926-Spring 1927), Russia (July 1928-Fall 1928) and Guatemala (1932). He would combine those longer travel periods with stays in New York and frequent escapes to Europe (Paris, Côte d’Azur, Switzerland, Spain), often in the company of Ernest and Hadley Hemingway (until their divorce in 1925-later in the company of Hemingway’s second wife Pauline), Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, and Gerald and Sarah Murphy⁸, among others. His travel experiences in those years were collected in *Orient Express* (1927) and *In All Countries* (1934).

The 1920s was a productive decade in the life and career of Dos Passos; he became one of the most-admired young American writers after the 1925 publication of *Manhattan Transfer* and, at the same time, was more and more committed to social causes. In 1926, he began to write articles for the newly-funded Marxist magazine *The New Masses*, of which he became a regular collaborator. During this period he also took part in an experimental drama project called “The New Playwrights Theater,” of which he became one of the directors and for which he wrote his only three plays: *The Moon is a Gong* (1925) later re-titled *The Garbage Man* (1926), *Airways, Inc.* (1929), and *Fortune Heights* (1933). His contribution to the project also included artwork for the stage scenery. (cf. Ludington, *A Twentieth Century Odissey* 255-56).

⁸ Dos Passos was introduced to the Murphies by humorist Donald Ogden Stewart in Paris in 1922. As a wealthy, influential couple, they introduced Dos Passos to many artists and intellectuals of the time, such as Léger or Picasso, for example. Their friendship lasted through the years (cf. Ludington, *A Twentieth Century Odissey* 225; 451)

Politically, during the 1920s Dos Passos's activism in defence of civil rights came to public attention after his efforts to speak up in favor of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeu Vanzetti, two Italian-born U.S. anarchists who were found guilty of first-degree murder, reportedly under unclear evidence and unlawful circumstances. For Nanney, "although historians today question their innocence, Dos Passos was one of a multitude of leftist writers, artists and intelligentsia who were convinced that the 1920 arrest [...] was the result of rampant prejudice against immigrants exacerbated by the Red Scare of 1919 and 1920" (Nanney, *John Dos Passos Revisited* 177). The two men were sentenced to death in 1921, and in the years that followed until their execution, their case became dramatically famous. There were protests not only in the U.S., but across the world. Some artists and intellectuals took part in those protests, and Dos Passos was one of the more active ones. In 1927, he worked on the pamphlet *Facing the Chair*⁹ in a futile effort to stop the execution, which took place on August 23rd that same year. Only two days before the execution, Dos Passos had been arrested during a Boston protest and spent a short period in jail. For Ludington, "at that moment of writing Dos Passos had moved as far to the Left as he ever would" and "in the fall of 1927 he saw his task more urgently than ever as working to change the industrial capitalist system which had denied justice for two admirable, common men" (ibid 263). In this state of things, immersed in experimentation with modernism on the one hand, and feeling extremely critical of industrialized America on the other, Dos Passos began working on *The 42nd Parallel*. Again the insatiable traveller, the bitterness he felt after Sacco and Vanzetti's execution and his reaction against capitalism made him want to travel to Russia, to see for himself the "country's political and social situations while also studying Russian drama" (ibid 265). He visited

⁹ Published in Spain by Errata Naturae as *Ante la silla eléctrica* (2011)

Denmark, France, Germany and Finland before he was granted a Russian visa. Once in the country, from Leningrad he travelled extensively, studied Russian and went to the theatre as much as he could. He had the opportunity to talk to many different people, only to leave the country after two months with mixed feelings and doubts about the bondage of the communist system (cf. *ibid* 267-274). As Nanney noted, “by the time he finally published his account of the journey, he had grown sufficiently suspicious of the Communists to evoke in his writing the terror in the eyes of a bystander who had witnessed the brutality of Communist purges of dissidents or other factions.” (*ibid* 176)

Parallelly and on the personal front, after a failed engagement to Crystal Ross in 1924-25,¹⁰ Dos Passos met Katharine Smith, his future wife, in 1928. During a short visit to Hemingway in Key West before leaving for Russia, he fell in love with “Katy,” as he used to call her, a woman who had known Hemingway since childhood.¹¹ Dos and Katy married in August 1929 upon his return from Russia and eventually set up their home in Provincetown, Massachusetts, although they were soon ready to sail for Europe, once more, in December. Dos Passos was 33 and Katy, 35.

The 1930s marked the peak of Dos Passos’s popularity in his career as a writer. Nevertheless, towards the end of the decade he experienced an ideological crisis prompted by the Spanish Civil War which would undermine such popularity in the next decades.

Dos Passos had started working on the the *U.S.A* trilogy around 1927, the first volume of which, *The 42nd Parallel*, was published in 1930; two years later, he published

¹⁰ John Dos Passos travelled again to Spain in 1924 for a short trip with Hemingway and friends to attend the Fiesta of San Fermín, where he got engaged to Crystal Ross. (cf. Nanney xiii)

¹¹ Katy was the sister of Bill Smith, a Hemingway’s close friend from his childhood days in Michigan; according to some sources, including Hemingway himself, Katy and Hem had had an affair before her marriage to Dos. (cf. Ludington *A Twentieth Century Odissey* 277-279)

the second one, *1919*, both to very positive reviews. He then translated and illustrated a poem by Blaise Cendrars, *Panama, or The Adventures of my Seven Uncles* (1931). Although he refused to identify himself with any particular political party and this made him withdraw from *The New Masses*, he was still close to leftist circles and continued to collaborate with journals such as *The New Republic* and *Common Sense*. (cf. Ludington, *A Twentieth Century Odissey* 311).

The months that followed the publication of the two novels were not easy for Dos Passos. He became ill with rheumatic fever¹² and that was an obstacle in his travel and writing plans, so that he could not work on *The Big Money* as soon as he would have wished (cf. *ibid* 315). He was also attracted by the idea of travelling to Spain again after the proclamation of the *Segunda República*,¹³ but unfortunately, he was convalescent for nearly two months. According to his biographers, during those days his friends were often visiting and/or writing, “Scott Fitzgerald who was undergoing psychiatric care [...] José Robles visited frequently” while “the Murphys sent two tickets for their trip abroad” (*ibid* 316). In June they could finally set out and Dos Passos eventually managed to sign a contract with Harcourt, Brace to write a book on the Second Republic which would provide some funding for the trip (cf. *ibid* 317). After some weeks with the Murphies in Antibes, Katy and Dos travelled to Spain and stayed there for the rest of the summer. During this trip they rented a car—which they nicknamed “*the cockroach*”—and toured Northern Spain, although most of their time was spent in Madrid. Again forced to rest because of his recurrent illness, Dos Passos “obtained interviews with Manuel Azaña,

¹² According to his biographers, these episodes of rheumatic fever were frequent and recurrent.

¹³ The Segunda República or Second Spanish Republic (1931-1938), a republican regime in Spain preceded by the Restoration and followed by Franco’s dictatorship was proclaimed when King Alfonso XIII left the country after anti-monarchist candidates won the elections in the spring of 1931.

then the Prime Minister, and with the famous philosopher Miguel de Unamuno” (ibid 319). He frequented the library of Madrid’s Ateneo,¹⁴ and had the opportunity to visit old friends, among them José Giner, Claude Bowers —then U.S. ambassador to Spain—, and Ernest Hemingway, with whom he shared lunches at Botin’s. In Dos Passos’s words, “these lunches were the last time Hem and I were able to talk about things Spanish without losing our tempers.” (Dos Passos, *The Best Times PPP*)

Although he did not manage to write a monograph on the Segunda República as he had planned, partly due to illness, his impressions about the political situation in Spain were nevertheless collected in the piece “The Republic of Honest Men,” and included in a lengthier volume, *In All Countries* (1934), which contained other markedly political travel writings on Russia, Mexico, Chicago, Detroit and Washington. Worried about the political developments in Europe with fascism looming, his view of the situation in Spain was not particularly positive.

2.2. Friendship, literature and politics: José Robles Pazos, translator of *Manhattan Transfer*

In August 1936, John Dos Passos appeared on the front cover of *Time* magazine as one of the most influential American writers, after the success of the third novel of the U.S.A Trilogy, *The Big Money*, that had been published earlier that year. However, the break out of the Spanish Civil War distressed Dos Passos, who once more became an activist in defence of human rights and took part in the *American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy*. This movement was aimed at raising funds, medical help and refugee aid for Spain. Among its members were communists but also Christians and ordinary citizens. In

¹⁴ The Ateneo is a cultural institution located in Madrid which was founded in 1835, frequented by liberal writers, intellectuals and politicians.

an effort to convince American society and American politicians that action was necessary and that the Republican government was the only legitimate one, Dos Passos, Hemingway, Lillian Hellman and Archibald McLeish among others set up “Contemporary Historians” to produce a documentary film about the Spanish Civil War and thus raise funds towards the loyalist cause. For the project, they hired Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens, a communist. Hemingway and Dos Passos agreed they would meet in Madrid for the filming, and to work on the script. Hemingway and Dos Passos got funding for their trip; Hemingway travelled as a war correspondent for North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), whereas Dos Passos committed himself to writing three articles for *Fortune*, edited by his friend — and member of Contemporary Historians— Archibald McLeish. Dos Passos was convinced that “unless the American government intervened, the country was, in effect, handing Spain over to fascism as well as to Communism.” (Spencer and Pizer 357-362)

When Dos Passos arrived in Spain, he was not only worried about the conflict itself, but also because of the news of the disappearance of one of his best Spanish friends, Pepé Robles.

When John Dos Passos and Pepe Robles had met for the first time in the winter of 1916, “Pepe” Robles was 19 years of age, and studied Arts and Philosophy in the University of Madrid. Although he was originally from Santiago de Compostela, he had been brought up in Madrid. On a train trip to Toledo on a third class wagon he met an American young man, barely one year older than he. They talked about politics and poetry, and about their admiration for El Greco’s painting, *El Entierro del Conde de Orgaz*. It was only a matter of time before they would become good friends, they had many things in common. They were both keen travelers and shared similar cultural interests; Dos Passos was trying to improve his Spanish and Robles, his English. They frequented the same

academic circles. The Residencia de Estudiantes and the Centro de Estudios Históricos were important in their academic lives. Dos Passos was at the time lodged in at a small boarding house, Pensión Boston, located in Espoz y Mina street, near Puerta del Sol¹⁵. He attended courses on Spanish language and literature taught by Tomás Navarro Tomás. (Martínez de Pisón 9-10)

In *The Best Times* Dos Passos describes Robles as an ironic man who was always willing to laugh at anything; an extraordinary talker whose spirits were closer to Baroja's characters than to his mates' at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Dos Passos and Robles had the chance to go out on more trips to the Sierra madrileña, or to the bullfights. (*Best Times* 32-33) Unfortunately, Dos Passos had to leave Madrid unexpectedly due to his father's death, but they would continue to be friends until Robles's death in 1937.

In 1918, Robles graduated from University and started working as a teacher of Spanish literature at the Instituto-Escuela, part of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. In the two years that followed, he also collaborated with the Centro de Estudios Históricos. By the summer of 1920, he was accepted as an assistant lecturer in Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland.

One year earlier, he had married Márgara Villegas, a well educated woman who shared many interests with Robles and who, in fact, worked as a translator for much of her life. They were both friends with French writer and translator Maurice Coindreau, who was then a student at the University of Madrid and who would translate *Manhattan Transfer* into French some years later. Coindreau met both Valle Inclán and Dos Passos through Robles, who introduced them one day at the library of the Ateneo, in Madrid. According to Coindreau, one of the main reasons for Robles wanting to work in the United States was

¹⁵ Poems II and IV of *Winter in Castille* included in a *Pushcart at the Curb* (1922) were inspired in this street.

the fact that he very much wanted to know the country well but also because he was eager to meet with Dos Passos again.

In 1922 Robles was promoted to the category of associate professor, and he settled in Baltimore until the breakout of the Spanish Civil War. During those years in America, Robles and Dos Passos frequently wrote to each other, and both Margara and Pepe would visit Dos Passos in New York whenever they had the opportunity to do so, particularly on their way to/back from Spain, where they used to spend their summer holidays. Despite their move to Baltimore, the Robles had kept in touch with their Madrid friends and continued to be regulars at the tertulias every summer, particularly Valle Inclan's¹⁶ at the cafe Granja El Henar, an old dairy shop that was turned into a modern cafe in 1925, and which was located in Alcala street, next to the Cırculo de Bellas Artes. Between 1927 and 1928 Robles wrote for *La Gaceta Literaria* which was at the time the main journal for young Spanish writers. His first two essays under the section "Libros yanquis" were devoted to *Manhattan Transfer* and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. Around the same time, Margara started working on the translation of *Rosinante on the Road Again* and Pepe, on the translation of *Manhattan Transfer*. (cf. Martınez de Pison 9-39)

In the summer of 1936, Robles had come to Spain with his family for the summer holidays, as he always used to do. A sympathizer of the loyalist cause, he did not hesitate to enlist with the Republican army. Because of his knowledge of languages, he worked as a translator with the Russian delegation in Madrid and later in Valencia, where one day he was arrested by a group of men in plain clothes who took him away when he was at home after a day's work (cf. Martınez de Pison 32) Although his execution was never confirmed

¹⁶ Jose Robles sometimes helped Valle-Inclan financially, since they were good friends and *paisanos gallegos*. (Conversation with Azcarate: July 2015)

officially, it has become accepted that he was killed by the Russians under the charge of espionage.

Ayala, in his memoirs, recalls that one afternoon at the beginning of December 1936, Robles did not attend his tertulia in Valencia, and no one ever saw him again. Ayala cannot forget the image of Margara and her two children trying to find Jose Robles, always asking, enquiring, wandering. Margara “iba de un sitio para otro, preguntando, averiguando, inquiriendo siempre sin el menor resultado” (Ayala, *Recuerdos y Olvidos* 229-30). Margara’s desperate search in the months following her husband’s disappearance did not succeed. Robles had been a victim at the hands of his own side.

According to the testimony of Luis de Azcarate¹⁷, a life-time friend of the Robles family, Margara would later resent how isolated she and her children had felt after Pepe was arrested, since most of their old-time Spanish friends did not help. Dos Passos overtly inquired and strived to find answers, and when it seemed obvious that Robles was dead, Dos Passos managed to facilitate the process that would enable Margara to recover enough money under Pepe’s life insurance to start a new life in Mexico, and even offered to adopt Coco Robles when exploring ways to help the Robles family after his imprisonment by Franco’s authorities just after the war as a Republican activist (cf. *Duelo al sol*, Lucy Dos Passos). The fact that Dos Passos was one of the most famous writers at the time undoubtedly placed him in a more secure position in war-time Spain than that of Robles’s fellow countrymen. The passivity of two of those “friends” —Rafael Alberti and Wenceslao Roces— was particularly painful for Margara.

¹⁷ Luis de Azcarate, author of the book *Memorias de un republicano* (2008), met Miggie —the Robles’s daughter— in exile in Paris in 1939 and got engaged in Mexico but later their relationship broke. Years later, in the 1980s, Miggie and Luis met again in Madrid, and eventually lived together until her death in 2007. (Conversation with Azcarate: July 2015)

The whole matter of Robles's death deeply affected Dos Passos, who was distressed to the point that he totally altered his plans in Spain for the time being¹⁸ and reacted against the political "cause" that had so far moved him. That event had dramatic consequences in Dos Passos's views of the war, and in the way American critics and old party "friends" saw him from that moment on.

His impressions on the Spanish Civil War were collected in *Journeys Between Wars* (1938). Shortly afterwards, in 1939, Dos Passos wrote *Adventures of a Young Man*, a novel that tells the story of Glenn Spotswood, a disillusioned middle-class American communist who joins the International Brigades to fight in the Spanish Civil War; critical with the way in which things are developing, he is imprisoned under suspicion of being a trotskyte by the Republicans, who eventually send him on an extremely risky mission where Spotswood gets killed by Franco's men. The novel is a fictional enunciation of Dos Passos's political views on the Spanish Civil War.

A review published in *The New Republic* by Malcolm McCowley of Dos Passos's partly biographical novel *Adventures of a Young Man*, prompted Dos Passos to write a clarification letter with a detailed account of the death of José Robles. In that letter, Dos Passos says: "The fact that he had once translated a book of mine, and well, was merely incidental; we had been friends since my first trip to Spain in 1916" (Ludington 14th *Chronicle* 527). In his effort to straighten out Robles's case, Dos Passos finished his account with a bitter reflection:

Of course this is only one story among the thousands in the vast butchery that was the Spanish civil war, but it gives us a glimpse into the bloody tangle of ruined lives that underlay the hurray for our side aspects.

¹⁸ Dos Passos was in Spain for the filming of *The Spanish Earth* with Joris Ivens and Ernest Hemingway. See page 66 above.

Understanding the personal histories of a few of the men women and children really involved would I think free our minds somewhat from the black is black and white is white obsessions of partisanship. (qtd. in *ibid*)

However, the manifestation of his political disillusionment, which had a negative impact in his literary career in the United States from which he never recovered, does not seem to have had a negative effect in the Spanish reception of his works.

2.3. The critical decline of John Dos Passos

In the initial years of his literary career, Dos Passos was a social activist and sympathised with the left, although disillusionment came soon after his Spanish Civil War experience in 1938 (Ludington, *Twentieth Century Odissey* 362-374). In America, most critics agree that this was a milestone for the radical change in Dos Passos's life and career, a change in attitude that was not understood and that still somewhat unfairly taints Dos Passos's reputation as a writer. Therefore, during the second part of his life he was no longer a favourite of the radical left in America but became a fervent conservative; he was no longer the constant traveller but stayed for most of the time at Spence's Point, Baltimore, the family home.

After the publication of *U.S.A.*, Dos Passos's previously radical views turned increasingly conservative. His creativity also seemed to fade; for Ludington, he "would never again produce a chronicle with the same sort of nervous excitement about it." ("Modernist Recorder" 6). Thus, his writing became less impassioned and his style - in Ludington's words- "ordinary." The loss of his wife in a car accident in 1947, as a result of which Dos Passos himself lost an eye, was a tragic event that may have influenced Dos Passos's personality and writing interests. He continued to produce a great deal of work,

including novels, books of personal observation, history, biography, and travel. With *Midcentury* (1961), Dos Passos returned to the kaleidoscopic technique of his earlier successes to give a panoramic view of post-war America. However, for the critics Dos Passos's masterpieces were never again paralleled. This could be partly explained by the fact that the experimental forms of the 20s and 30s were no longer new or shocking in the 60s.

There were other reasons for the decline in Dos Passos's reputation as a writer, not only his conservative approach; for Ludington, the lack of emotion in his writing as well as the absence of new themes might have contributed to his loss of popularity:

Dos Passos blamed the liberal bent of the critics. There was truth to that; yet his work lacked the emotional engagement. Then too, he had more and more declared himself an historian, writing repeatedly about the early days of the Republic, about [...] Woodrow Wilson, and [...] about Portugal. (6)

Regarding his "Spanish connection," Dos Passos returned later in his life for brief visits, and for a longer holiday with his second wife, Elizabeth,¹⁹ and their daughter Lucy in the summer of 1961. Ludington refers to this trip as decisive in the writing of his memoirs, *The Best Times* (1966):

Although this was not the first time that Dos Passos had returned to Spain since 1937, it was his first extended visit. He was moved by some of the places which he had loved and which had figured prominently in his life, and the trip was made more poignant after he read in July of the circumstances of Hemingway's death by suicide. [...] The intense

¹⁹ John Dos Passos married Elizabeth Holdridge (1909–1998) in 1949. They had a daughter, Lucy (b.1950).

memories sparked by the trip would produce no more work about Spain but they [...] made Dos Passos consider writing some kind of memoir. (A *Twentieth Century Odissey* 485)

John Dos Passos published a total of 45 works²⁰ in the United States²¹. At the time of his death, on September 28, 1970, in Baltimore, Maryland, Dos Passos had finished most of a novel, *Century's Ebb: The Thirteenth Chronicle*, which was posthumously published, unfinished and unrevised. Also posthumously published were *Easter Island* (1971), a travel book, and *The Fourteenth Chronicle* (1973), his diaries and letters. In his last "contemporary chronicle," *Century's Ebb* (1975), Dos Passos expressed once more his concern about what was becoming of America through biographies, impressionistic sketches and fictional narratives, like that of Danny Delong who speaks a first person narrative into a tape recorder showing once more Dos Passos's interest in adapting "current media technology to narrative purposes" (Nanney, *John Dos Passos* 231).

Upon his death in September 1970, Spanish diaries published obituaries and columns in memory of John Dos Passos. The newspaper *ABC*, one of the oldest in print in Spain, published three obituaries on September 29th; October 7th and October 15th. In turn, the newspaper *La Vanguardia Española* also echoed Dos Passos's death on September 29th.

The first obituary by *ABC*, published immediately after his death on September 29th, was signed by press agency EFE and dated in Washington on September 28th. In this obituary, Dos Passos is presented as a writer who changed his political ideas as part

²⁰ See Sanders (1987: xxi-xxiii); Sanders cites a total of 44 works, but he omitted in his table *A Pushcart at the Curb*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922.

²¹ For a chronology of Dos Passos's selected works published in the U.S. see Table 1 at the end of this section.

of the natural process of getting old, as a response to his “pánico a la vejez”; the author of this obituary followed the dominant critical opinion that the best Dos Passos was the young, radical novelist, and writes: “De John Dos Passos puede decirse que ha abandonado este mundo cuando era ya contrario, de un signo diferente a aquel que recogió los primeros esfuerzos y produjo los mejores testimonios del escritor” (51). Given the fact that it was dated in Washington by a news agency, together with the critical attitude towards Dos Passos’s political shift, it may be inferred that it echoed obituaries published in the United States.

The second one, published on October 7th, was signed by Universidad Complutense de Madrid professor Jorge Uscatescu, philosopher, historian, writer and President of the Sociedad Internacional de Estudios Humanísticos de Roma, a position through which he had met Dos Passos personally. For Uscatescu, Dos Passos is a master, the “maestro de las letras norteamericanas,” a unique author, “creador de genio, auténtico renovador de la novela de occidente y de la técnica literaria anglosajona” (58). Uscatescu’s is an extremely positive portrait by a colleague, a friend. No mention is made to Dos Passos’s politics, but rather to his moral integrity.

Finally, one more obituary published by ABC appeared under a section called “Mirador” on October 15th. Reference is made here to his “major” works, i.e. *Manhattan Transfer*, *U.S.A.*, *Three Soldiers*, as well as to his deep knowledge of Spain as shown in *Rosinante*. His friendship with “Ernesto” Hemingway is also mentioned, and an appraisal is made of his innovative writing technique which the critic calls “la noria” or “the Ferris wheel”, in which characters come and go, sometimes to reappear later. Again, this obituary presents a positive image of Dos Passos and his influence on our writers.

Politics are the main thematic line of the obituary published in *La Vanguardia Española* on September 29th. Signed by the editor and dated in Washington on September 28th, Dos Passos is portrayed here as someone whose ideological development made certain intellectual groups nervous; at one point it reads: “una vez muerto, molestará menos su ejemplo,” which translates approximately like this “once dead, his example will be less disturbing” (10). Surprisingly, in the final lines he is presented as a supporter of Franco’s side during the war, “se mantuvo mejor en favor de las fuerzas nacionales que de las republicanas” (ibid). I find this obituary is a sad instance of a profit-seeking, vicarious interpretation of Dos Passos’s reaction against the Spanish Civil War events of 1937.

Table 1. John Dos Passos's chronology

(Source: Schleppenbach; Howson).

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1896 | Born January 14 to John Randolph Dos Passos and Lucy Addison Sprigg Madison. |
| 1907 | John Roderigo Madison (later known as John Dos Passos) enrolls at Choate Preparatory School in Wallingford, Connecticut. |
| 1910 | John Roderigo Madison's parents, John Randolph Dos Passos Jr. and Lucy Addison Sprigg Madison, marry, allowing him to take the name Dos Passos. |
| 1911 | John Dos Passos tours Europe for a year in the company of a tutor. |
| 1912-16 | Is a student at Harvard. |
| 1916-17 | Takes first trip to Spain. John Randolph Dos Passos dies in January 1917. |
| 1917-18 | Is in ambulance service units (Norton-Harjes Ambulance Corps) in France and Italy with friends E. E. Cummings and Robert Hillyer. |
| 1920 | Publishes <i>One Man's Initiation</i> -- 1917. |
| 1921 | Publishes <i>Three Soldiers</i> . |
| 1922 | Publishes <i>A Pushcart at the Curb</i> , and <i>Rosinante to the Road Again</i> . |
| 1923 | Publishes <i>Streets of Night</i> . |
| 1924 | Meets with Hemingway in Paris. |
| 1925 | Publishes <i>Manhattan Transfer</i> |
| 1926-1929 | Directs New Playwrights' Theatre, NYC. |
| 1927 | Publishes <i>Facing the Chair</i> , on Sacco and Vanzetti, and <i>Orient Express</i> . |
| 1928 | Spends several months in Russia studying drama and the communist view. |
| 1929 | Marries Katharine Smith in Ellsworth, Maine. |
| 1934 | Signs "Open Letter to the Communist Party" criticizing on dissent. |
| 1937 | During the Spanish Civil War, José Robles, is executed. |
| 1938 | Publishes <i>U.S.A.</i> 's three volumes as a set. Jean-Paul Sartre declares him "the greatest living writer of our time." |
| 1939 | Publishes <i>Adventures of a Young Man</i> . |
| 1949 | Publishes <i>The Ground We Stand On</i> . |
| 1942-45 | Observes theatres of WWII, begins serving as a reporter. |
| 1947 | Loses sight in one eye in a car accident; his wife Katharine is killed. He is elected to American Academy of Arts and Letters. |

| | |
|------|---|
| 1949 | Marries Elizabeth Holdridge in Baltimore, Maryland. Move to the farm in Spence's Point . |
| 1950 | Only daughter, Lucy, is born. |
| 1954 | Publishes Jefferson biography. |
| 1957 | Receives Gold Medal for fiction from the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Publishes <i>The Men Who Made the Nation</i> . |
| 1959 | Publishes <i>Prospects of a Golden Age</i> . |
| 1961 | <i>Midcentury</i> , a new novel, is published to good critical notices. |
| 1966 | Publishes <i>The Shackles of Power</i> , also <i>The Best Times</i> , an informal memoir. |
| 1967 | Receives Feltrinelli Prize for Fiction. |
| 1970 | Dies of heart failure in Baltimore on September 28. |
| 1974 | Two works are published posthumously, <i>Easter Island</i> and <i>Century's Ebb</i> . |

2.4. John Dos Passos's legacy

According to Ludington, Dos Passos is “at the least an intriguing figure [...] and from the perspective of 1996, he stands far closer to the center of the nation’s cultural and political currents than he did in the 1960s and 70s” (“Modernist Recorder” 580). In 1998, Nanney’s monograph titled *John Dos Passos, Revisited*, was part of the collection Twayne’s United States Authors Series. Nanney’s critical interpretation suggests ways of considering Dos Passos’s work. For this critic, the best Dos Passos is, once more, the author of the modernist novels up until the 1930s as exemplified in *Manhattan Transfer* and the *U.S.A* Trilogy, together with the anti-war writer of *One Man’s Initiation* and *Three Soldiers*. Focusing in modernist Dos Passos, Nanney draws interesting parallels relating Dos Passos’s fascination for European art and his own artwork with his writing style, in which colour and light are outstanding but also his modernist approach to narrative techniques. In Nanney’s words, in those years: “Dos Passos still thought like a visual artist, conceiving his writing in visual terms and informing his work with what he had learned of form, dynamic, color, and space through the painting he had done and seen” (*John Dos Passos* 6). Of the ten chapters the book contains, nine of them are devoted to Dos Passos’s works up until 1936, and only one, chapter 10, to his works between 1937—the date of publication of “Farewell to Europe!”—and his death in 1970. This is quite telling, since it is not only a long period of Dos Passos’s writing career, but one in which he continued to write and publish regularly, including nine novels, several non-fictional prose works and essays mostly on political and social issues, plus eight books dealing with various aspects of U.S. History. Nanney concludes:

In the course of a prolific career that spanned over half a century, Dos Passos grew increasingly frustrated with the “strangling institutions man

himself creates” (“Looking Back”) and sunk into bitter despair about the future of “America that [he] loved and hated” (“What” 30). But that exacting vision of his country evolved precisely because he had early known and passionately felt its potential [...] and “to prod people into thinking” [...] he became a satirist of his land and times. (*John Dos Passos* 234)

Professor of English Emeritus Donald Pizer (Tulane University) is responsible for the most recent monograph on John Dos Passos published in the U.S., titled *Toward a Modernist Style: John Dos Passos* (2013). The book is a collection of essays, reprinted in their original form, that for the purpose of the book have been arranged into three main parts; the early 1920s, U.S.A., and a section titled “Friendships and Art” which includes an essay on the Dos Passos-Hemingway relationship and one on Dos Passos and painting.

The first section, titled “The Early 1920s: Constructing a Style” deals with *Three Soldiers* and *Rosinante to the Road Again*. For Pizer, these two works already show Dos Passos’s innovative style and narrative techniques. The themes which were characteristic of his later fiction, namely the evils of industrialism (man against the machine) and the individual as a product of the system are already present in *Three Soldiers*, whereas the Spain portrayed in *Rosinante* represents a pure, non industrialized culture where man has not yet surrendered nor become a victim to the power system. During the 1920s, Dos Passos gradually developed his exploration of modernist techniques. In Pizer’s words, “although John Dos Passos’s career spans half a century, the bulk of his significant work was written during the 1920s.” (ibid 26) Pizer is referring here to *Three Soldiers*, *Manhattan Transfer* and the *42nd Parallel*. For Pizer, it is during this decade that Dos Passos mastered montage, simultaneity, juxtaposition, contrast and the “camera eye”,

characteristics of the writing technique which would make him world famous in the 1930s. (cf. *ibid*)

The second part of the book, titled “*U.S.A.: The Style Perfected*” addresses the complexity of the trilogy’s novels’ structure and writing technique, although for Pizer their popular success is explained by a forceful unity which the reader perceives. In Pizer’s words: “*U.S.A.* has a holding power —the power to drive one to the conclusion of an extremely long book— which they [readers] associate with the greatest fiction” (44). The camera eye and the stream of consciousness are also dealt with at length in other articles of this section. Finally, in the essay titled “The Sexual Geography of Expatriate Paris,” Pizer argues that the “common positioning in the work of the best expatriate authors of the union of creativity and sexuality in a distinctive Paris locale” is “one of the more compelling” characteristics of the literary expression of “the American expatriate movement of the 1920s and 1930s.” (89)

Regarding the Hemingway-Dos Passos relationship, after dealing briefly with the Robles case and the Spanish Civil War which triggered their rupture, Pizer concentrates on the “brooding” about each other, in the form of “autobiographical portraiture and fictional caricature” that came after that (cf. *ibid* 121).

The last essay is devoted to Dos Passos and his paintings. For Pizer, viewed as a collective body of work, their strength and richness is revealed (cf. *ibid* 122). The article is a detailed account of Dos Passos’s evolution as an artist and includes a detailed analysis of his paintings from a chronological perspective (cf. *ibid* 122-135).

In the preface to this interesting collection of essays just described, Pizer expressed his intention to contribute towards the restoration of Dos Passos as a major modernist author, and acknowledges Townsend Ludington and his works of 1973 and

1980 as the earliest contributions to the re-positioning of “Dos Passos’s centrality in the great outburst that was early twentieth-century American literary modernism.” (ibid x)

The founding of the John Dos Passos Society in 2012 by young researchers of the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga on the one hand, and the creation of the official website www.johndospassos.com administered by John Dos Passos Coggin, maternal grandson of John Dos Passos, on the other, have contributed to give John Dos Passos and his works more visibility. Thanks to their presence on the Internet, they have provided two valuable worldwide meeting points not only for scholars but also for the general public.

In 2011 two academics of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Victoria Bryan and Aaron Shaheen, decided to found the John Dos Passos Society. They were soon joined by Wesley Beal, Fredrik Tydal and Dos Passos expert Lisa Nanney, among others. Shortly afterwards, in February 2012, the first John Dos Passos Society newsletter was sent to members. It included write-ups of their recent panels, information about future panels, and an interview with John Dos Passos Coggin, the maternal grandson of John Dos Passos. The By-Laws of the Society were ratified at the American Literature Association Conference (ALA) of May 25th 2012²². Regarding its activities, participation at the ALA Conference has been a major commitment. Thus, the Society has participated in the ALA Conferences of 2013, 2014 and 2015. In 2013, the John Dos Passos Society co-organized a panel with the Hemingway Society, titled “Hemingway and Dos Passos:

²² The purpose of the Society is set forth in Article II, as follows: The purpose of the society shall be to assist and coordinate John Dos Passos studies through the organization of publication and presentation opportunities and the maintenance of the John Dos Passos website from which research, teaching and professional development resources can be made available. (Bye-Laws)

Spain and Other Crossroads.”²³ In 2014, the John Dos Passos Society organized a panel on its own, titled “John Dos Passos in the American Tradition,”²⁴ and finally, in 2015, the Society co-organized a panel with the E.E. Cummings Society titled “Intersections of E.E. Cummings and John Dos Passos.” The panel was chaired by Victoria M. Bryan, current President of the JDPS.²⁵

The First Biennial John Dos Passos Society Conference was held at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga —where the Society was founded— on October 10-11, 2014. It gathered 27 speakers from across the U.S., Brazil, Denmark, Japan and Spain. Speakers took part in 8 different panels plus a Teaching roundtable, while the closing keynote speech, “The Writing Habits Behind the Masterpieces: Dos Passos, Hemingway and Fitzgerald” was delivered by John Dos Passos Coggin. In the words of Wesley Beal, former President of the Society:

It was a long time coming. While the legacies of his peers William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway have benefitted from longstanding, vibrant conferences in their names, John Dos Passos’s legacy has lacked any such tending. We began to correct that shortcoming with the First Biennial Meeting of the John Dos Passos Society in October 2014. (Beal, *Reflections on the First Conference of the John Dos Passos Society*)

²³The panel was chaired by Wesley Beal, from Lyon College, and the speakers were David Murad, from Kent State University, Fredrik Tydal from the Stockholm School of Economics, and Ron McFarland from the University of Idaho. (cf. ALA Conference program 2013).

²⁴ Chaired by Wesley Beal, the participants were John Dos Passos Coggin, as an independent scholar, Casey Shevlin from the University of Texas at San Antonio, and Travis Rozier, from the University of Mississippi (cf. ALA Conference Program 2014).

²⁵ The panel included papers by Katherine Stanutz, from the University of Maryland, Michael Webster, from Grand Valley State University, Zachary Tavlin, from the University of Washington and Fredrik Tydal, this time from the University of Virginia (cf. ALA Conference Program 2015).

The keynote speech delivered by John Dos Passos Coggin was an interesting analysis of the contrasting writing habits in Hemingway, Fitzgerald and Dos Passos. Dos Passos's grandson reflected on how most writers of the lost generation had had early and/or tragic deaths, unlike his grandfather, arguing that he had found a balance in his personal life that other writers of his generation had not (JDPS, First Biennial). As former President of the Society Wesley Beal noted, "the address illuminated Dos Passos's writing life with a wonderful family angle" (Beal, "Reflections on the First Conference of the John Dos Passos Society" 1).

Regarding themes, Conference participants focused on Dos Passos and modernist art; gender issues in Dos Passos's novels (female vs. male roles; homosexuality); psychological analysis; sociology, politics and the writer; and Dos Passos's connections with his contemporaries, notably with Ernest Hemingway. Regarding the works the papers focused on, the *U.S.A.* Trilogy seemed to be the most popular ones. Of the later works, only the non-fictional books *Brazil on the Move* (1963) and the historical works published in the collection "Mainstream of America" were addressed. We can conclude that it is Dos Passos's earlier fiction —innovative in style and radical in themes— which continues to attract 21st century Dos Passos's scholars. Madrid has been chosen by the John Dos Passos Society Board as the venue for the next John Dos Passos Society Conference to be held in June 2016 in recognition of the major influence of our country on the making of Dos Passos as a writer.

Although scholarly research on John Dos Passos outside the United States and Spain is beyond the scope of this thesis, the work of Portuguese writer and researcher Miguel Oliveira and that of French professor and translator Alice Béja must be

mentioned, since they are responsible for the latest monographies on the author of *Manhattan Transfer*.

Miguel Oliveira's contribution to Dos Passos's research includes several articles and book chapters, the creation of the John Dos Passos literary prize in Portugal, participation and organization of conferences held at the John Dos Passos Cultural Centre in Madeira and, more importantly, three monographs on John Dos Passos, namely *Classified and Confidential: FBI File 97-2497 Subject John Dos Passos* (2009), *John Dos Passos' Influence on Günter Grass* (2009), and *From a Man without a Country to an American by Choice: John Dos Passos and Migration* (2013). Additionally, as mentioned in the section dealing with Dos Passos and censorship in Spain, Oliveira is currently working on a fourth book to deal with the censorship of John Dos Passos in Portugal, which he expects to finish by May 2016 (Correspondence on censorship). Portuguese contributions also include the publication of the monograph titled *John Dos Passos: Biography and Critical Essays* (2011), which includes the work of Portuguese Dos Passos scholars Maria Zina Gonçalves de Abreu, Bernardo Guido de Vasconcelos and Miguel Oliveira, as well as of non-Portuguese researchers such as Townsend Ludington, Fredrik Tydal and Alice Béja.

The most recent monograph on John Dos Passos is Alice Beja's book titled *Des mots pour se battre; John Dos Passos, la littérature et la politique* (2015). In Beja's words:

...literature and politics are often seen as a mismatched couple. But they come together in the works of John Dos Passos (1896-1970), who was both a modernist and a radical and sought to use fiction as a political tool; by fragmenting plot, characters and time in his novels, he wanted to expose

the hidden agenda of America's 'master narrative'"(Béja qtd. in Dos Passos Coggin).

Once more, politics seem to be a dominant interest in scholarly research on John Dos Passos, also outside the United States.

In a moment when criticism shows a singular dearth of direction every man has to be a law unto himself in matters of theatre, writing, and painting. While the American Mercury and the new Ford continue to spread a thin varnish of Ritz over the whole United States there is a certain virtue in being unfashionable.

(John Dos Passos)

CHAPTER 3

***MANHATTAN TRANSFER* AND ITS CRITICAL RECEPTION**

3.1. Overview of critical reception in the U.S.

In the 1920s, *MANHATTAN TRANSFER* was a sign in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York City where passengers changed trains on their way in and out of the city. For Dos Passos, it seemed the perfect title for his 1925 novel of the endlessly shifting life in the big metropolis.

For critics like Linda Wagner, or Alfred Kazin –both of them expert American authors on Dos Passos- *Manhattan Transfer* represents Dos Passos's maturity as a writer; for others such as American writer Jay McInerney in his prologue to the 1986 Penguin paperback edition it is a "technical warm-up" for the trilogy *U.S.A.* and an "intriguing narrative experiment." Following this same line, the *Literary History of the US* (1302), cites *Manhattan Transfer* as a "foreword" for his true masterpiece, *U.S.A.* which opens in Chicago, the city which was "...the heart (...) the nervous cortex, of the new American industrialism." Those urban rhythms also dominate *Manhattan Transfer*, cited in this literary history as Dos Passos's first major novel, highlighting its technical devices: the use of popular songs, of newspaper headlines, of the speech of the people as against the speech of the scholars, "which are fused into the panoramic view of our city culture, and in *U.S.A.* itself, our national culture." (1303)

I wondered whether *Manhattan Transfer* would still be “alive” in more general works of reference, and if so, what they would say about it. Therefore, I searched for “*Manhattan Transfer*” in various electronic versions of popular reference works, and I found that there were indeed references to this novel, and positive ones too; in Encarta, a popular web resource for general consultation, *Manhattan Transfer* was referred to as “a panoramic view of life in New York City between 1890 and 1925, immensely successful. Containing fragments of popular songs, news headlines, stream-of-consciousness monologues, and fragments from the lives of a horde of unrelated characters, this powerful novel determined the style of the best of his [Dos Passos’s] later novels,” referring once more to the trilogy *U.S.A.* However, the statement about the novel being “immensely successful” is only partially true. Indeed, a review of the reception in the years immediately after its publication (1925-28) shows that *Manhattan Transfer* provoked mixed reactions among the critics.

3.1.1. *Manhattan Transfer* and American Modernism

Dos Passos wrote *Manhattan Transfer* in a period of “literary experimentalism, travel and political concern.” It was in his flat at 11 Bank Street, Greenwich Village, New York, where he wrote most of the novel, but also in Provincetown, Massachusetts, where he lived. The final version of *Manhattan Transfer* was completed in August 1925, not without discussion with the publishers “for some of the frank language” (Ludington, *Twentieth Century Odissey* 236-240). Finally, the novel was published in November 1925, while Dos Passos was travelling in Europe and Northern Africa, something common among American artists at the time. Paris became the heart of the artistic world, and Dos Passos was part of a generation of American writers that found in expatriation a form of inspiration.

En las dos primeras décadas del siglo XX se instalaron en las calles parisinas una plétora de escritores, pintores, fotógrafos y músicos europeos y norteamericanos, en un entorno amable, liberal y bohemio donde se respiraba la fascinación por la innovación, el experimentalismo y la dinámica del cambio como motor de lo que se ha denominado Modernismo. (Piñero, “París era mujer” 2)

For Ludington, “no U.S. author became more caught up in the movement [Modernism] than John Dos Passos” (“Modernism” 60). Although the movement has been defined in various ways since it is manifested in many different forms, most seem to agree that Modernism is a major literary artistic and literary movement that emerged in the 1900s, and that “the movement was extremely important for the novel in the U.S., because it enabled a generation of writers coming of age after World War I the opportunity to express new attitudes in new ways.” (ibid 59)

The “Lost Generation” or the “Jazz Age” remain two ways of common reference to the intellectual diaspora of the 1920s, represented among others by Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound or most notably by T.S. Elliot. They all chose expatriation as a way of forging American consciousness. For Piñero:

En el caso concreto de los norteamericanos que se trasladaron a París y pusieron un océano de distancia, la lejanía se convirtió en la metáfora de su alienación y de la perspectiva descentrada que necesitaban para mirar de forma crítica a su país. (“París era mujer” 2)

John Dos Passos is considered one of the pioneers of American Modernism. Although his earlier writing already showed some of the features of this movement in themes and innovative forms, *Manhattan Transfer* is one of the earliest examples of a modernist novel by an American. For Ludington, the founding of Dos Passos as a

modernist writer was a lengthy process “and involved the searing experience of war, the discovery of new forms, and the acceptance of history as a way to find meaning among the chaos of the twentieth century.” (“Modernism” 61)

3.1.2. *Early criticism*

In order to have a global idea of the early reception of the novel, particularly in the United States, I turned to David Sanders’s *Comprehensive Bibliography*, which includes a compilation of critical references to all Dos Passos’s works. In the section about the critical reception of *Manhattan Transfer*, I searched for evidence on whether it was a positive or a negative one, and selected the following significant comments from either prominent writers or influential critics. Sanders quotes one of the most cited phrases of the early reception of *Manhattan Transfer* by conservative critic Paul Elmer More in 1928, for whom the novel was like “an explosion in a cesspool” (218). For Scott Fitzgerald who in 1925 had just published *The Great Gatsby* (same year of publication of *Manhattan Transfer*), and who was one of Dos Passos’s writer-friends, the novel “was astonishingly good.” Other contrasting reviews were published between 1925 and 1927 (362-366). As Dos Passos himself admitted to David Sanders in an interview which was published in 1969, it was his writer friend Sinclair Lewis —at the peak of his career in 1925 after the success of *Babbitt* and who would be awarded the Nobel prize for Literature in 1930— who had exercised the greatest influence about the positive reception of the novel (53). Indeed, it was in his review published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* in December 1925, where Lewis affirmed that he preferred it to Joyce’s *Ulysses*, and that *Manhattan Transfer* had the “sense, smell, sound, soul of New York” (*Comprehensive Bibliography* 362). Also positive towards the novel were Allen Tate, who in 1926 said in *Nation* that *Manhattan Transfer* was a “breathless movie scenario...of New York’s Bohemia”; French writer and translator Maurice Coindreau who praised Dos Passos’s

virtuosity and style in *La Revue Nouvelle*, or Michael Gold who wrote in the 1926 August number of *The New Masses*: “I have always admired this gorgeous writer, Dos Passos... He must ally himself definitely with the radical army for in this struggle is the only true escape from middle-class bewilderment today.” (364)

However, many critics disliked the novel either for its themes, its language, its technique or all three –that is to say, for approximately the same reasons why others praised it. Thus, prestigious publications quoted in Sanders such as *The Times Literary Supplement* presented mixed feelings about the novel in 1927: “A vivid and masterly impression of chaos...complete disillusion, but without satire”; or *Bookman* (1926): “The strangest and most unprecedented work of fiction to be read this year...a beautiful job except for incompetent and ridiculous dialect.” H.L. Stuart said in *The New York Times Book Review* (Nov. 1925) that *Manhattan Transfer* “is a powerful piece of work...a study that seems designed to convey the stir and movement of multiple lives”, but “too often freezes into a set piece of horror” (362). Others were even harsher on their comments and openly disparaged *Manhattan Transfer*. Thus, H.E. Dounce reviewed *Manhattan Transfer* for *The New Yorker* in November, 1928 and said: “Dos Passos’s *Manhattan* is very much like the real complete thing-which is to say like a hell of chaotic futility” (362). For H. L. Mencken in *American Mercury*, the novel was incoherent and dull and added “I am in grave doubt that any human being will ever be able to read it –that is, honestly, thoroughly, from end to end.”(364)

However, despite some of the negative criticism towards *Manhattan Transfer*, the next decade confirmed Dos Passos as one of the greatest writers of his time. The publication of *The 42nd Parallel* (1930), *1919* (1932) and *The Big Money* (1936) did make him “immensely successful.” In a study published in 1938 in the *Nouvelle Review*

Francaise on Dos Passos's novel *1919*, Jean Paul Sartre wrote that Dos Passos was "the greatest writer of our time." (302)

3.1.3. Criticism in the late 20th century

In the U.S. late 20th century criticism on Dos Passos and more particularly on *Manhattan Transfer* was still mixed. Linda Wagner, David Sanders, Townsend Ludington and Alfred Kazin are amongst the critics who have shown the greatest interest on Dos Passos as a writer. In Wagner's opinion *Manhattan Transfer* was both a popular success and a critical one because it conveyed American feelings of the time about the emerging urban life, technology and the de-humanization of society. For Wagner, "much of the force behind both *Manhattan Transfer* and the *U.S.A.* trilogy is their quick-paced movement from one story to another" which was achieved by the collage technique (48). Indeed, in his essay "The Beginning of the Contemporary Chronicles" as quoted in Sanders, Dos Passos admitted to have brought from Paris his interest in experimentation - "simultaneity" as he named it (2-4). Thus he borrowed the techniques from art and films in an attempt to "chronicle the life of the city." Dos Passos himself identified its antecedents in the Italian futurists; the Frenchmen of the school of Rimbaud, the poets who went along with cubism in painting.

Indeed, he meant the novel to be "unconventional" in every way, not only stylistically, but thematically; thus homosexuality, abortion, adultery, are dealt with as ingredients of New York's kaleidoscope. The various characters illustrate the "types" in the city's society, but for Wagner, Dos Passos erred in the narrative approach to Jimmy Herf "in making him a reactor instead of an actor." Not only that, but also in recreating too openly his own childhood and his mother's illness, Dos Passos "has been guilty of the autobiographical fallacy for one of the few times in his career." (61)

In Kazin's opinion, the fact that Dos Passos's early years were spent in constant travel and movement made him think that "the way out of any problem was to keep moving" (375-397); according to this critic, this would partly explain why the movement of his characters was to be more memorable than their personalities. In his retrospect of the American literary world of the 30s, Kazin says that it was Dos Passos's Greenwich Village experience that inspired his "first major novel", *Manhattan Transfer*. In a warm appraisal of Dos Passos's position in the history of American letters, Kazin writes:

Without Dos Passos's invention of his cinematic machine to record the momentum carrying an industrial mass society headlong into moral chaos, a good deal of our present sophistication in fiction, in the classy new journalism, even in the formal writing of American history, would not exist. (Kazin 382)

Less passionate in his views, McInerney thinks that the main virtue of *Manhattan Transfer* is the way in which the reader can feel the pulse of the city, its main flaw the lack of personality of its characters. This writer says that "today, Dos Passos is more talked about than read"—which to him is probably a deficiency on our part but also on that of Dos Passos (7-11).

Werner Sollors, a Harvard expert, thinks that the fact that Dos Passos has usually been more talked about than read lies in other writers' fear of the "sprawling endlessness of his enterprise, so that it seemed more interesting to talk about him than to read him page by page or sentence by sentence —let alone follow his work as a model" (120). In *The Columbia History of the American Novel*, modernist *Manhattan Transfer* is presented as a "designed construction", similar to the functioning of a complex machine. Dos Passos is described as an "engineer" of the novel where sounds, machines, traffic but also

buildings, streets, structures (both physical and social) are used by Dos Passos to precisely oppose technology and industrialism. (322-323, 345)

Minter also presents a positive view of Dos Passos as a writer and particularly of *Manhattan Transfer*, which he considers an example of his best fiction. The underlying theme, namely the lives, hopes, broken dreams and misfortunes of multiple characters trapped in the city, is here associated to Freud's theory of the uncanny: "the fulfilment of things wished for becomes terrifying." Indeed, this feeling is best expressed through noisy, disordered, conflicted scenes against the background noise of an urban orchestra, full of machine sounds and strange voices. For Minter, some major writers of the time — Lewis, Fitzgerald and Hemingway, among others— also wrote social fiction "but Dos Passos anticipated the social fiction of the 30s in ways matched by few works in the 20s." (165-167)

Other critics that have written on *Manhattan Transfer* in the 21st century include Bart Keunen, a professor of Literature at Ghent University in Belgium, the American writer and critic Desmond Harding, and critic, journalist and poet Vincent D. Balitas. In an essay based on Bakhtin's chronotopes²⁶ Keunen identifies the modernism in *Manhattan Transfer* with the existential perspective of degeneration in the city; unlike other critics, Keunen thinks the characters are presented as complex individuals, although not in a naturalistic mode. Dos Passos does not give ready-made interpretations, but uses the opposition between psychological and social processes through the "documentary technique" to let us as readers reach our own conclusions. (424)

In a more recent attempt at looking at *Manhattan Transfer* in depth, Harding (2003) reviews other critics' reception of the novel through the years, and highlights its

²⁶ According to Mikhail M. Bakhtin, chronotopes are images that integrate the temporal processes and spatial selections of a literary text (qtd. in Keunen)

modernist aesthetics and techniques. The main topic in his discussion is to draw a comparison between Joyce's *Ulysses* and Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer*. For this author, the converging factor between Joyce and Dos Passos is the city itself, "a topos of the imagination where the city becomes the world." In his opinion, the two urban novels are outstanding examples of modernist literature, both in aesthetics and in theme. Harding defines *Manhattan Transfer* as an excellent example of the American modernist novel, and cites Lisa M. Steinman:

Modernism as a visual art began in Europe, but the increasing association of science and technology with art in America after World War I defined an image of modernism (and modernity) for American artists and critics as very much an American way of life. Together, they represent a milestone in the trans-Atlantic influence between European and North American literature. (qtd. in Harding 99).

In Harding's view, Dos Passos's urban fiction is deeply rooted "in a transatlantic pattern of thought, one that deconstructs the boundaries between history and fiction, creating a new kind of cultural history and a new kind of fiction. For him, Dos Passos chose as the subject for his novel "the quintessential material city of modernism, New York" (97). In his conclusions, Harding says that Dos Passos's *Manhattan* "emerges" as a point of transit and port of entry into the darkened soul of America," whereas Joyce's *Dublin* "emerges as a platform to reconciliation." (132)

The most interesting aspect dealt with by Harding for the purpose of our research is his extensive review of Dos Passos's criticism, from the very beginning of his career as a writer until our present day, from Sinclair Lewis (1925) to Janet Casey (1998). For the latter, Dos Passos is virtually never perceived as central to understanding American modernism, which is in her view totally unfair. She agrees with other critics that the

reasons for this critical demise are mainly political. Harding defines the situation as one of “critical sclerosis” and regrets that “*Manhattan Transfer* has been afforded such scant criticism that it seems even less well known as we move into the 21st century.”(103)

A review by Vincent D. Balitas appeared in *The Washington Times*, when The Library of America published a collection titled *Novels 1920-25: One Man's Initiation: 1917, Three Soldiers, Manhattan Transfer*. Balitas's is not a totally positive judgement; John Dos Passos lacked the necessary genius to create memorable characters and his fiction was often too close to being a social and political manifesto against “the curse of capitalism.” However, this critic allows for Dos Passos's importance as a developer of American literature, and claims that he deserves a wider audience. (3)

3.2. Current scholarly research

In 2010, scholar Paul Petrovic (Northern Illinois University) published an interesting article on *Manhattan Transfer* from a gender perspective, titled “‘To Get to the Center’: Recovering the Marginalized Woman in John Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer*.” Petrovic focuses his analysis on two female characters of the novel, Ellen Thatcher and Anna Cohen. For Petrovic, Ellen “typifies the plight of these [bourgeois] women in being victim of a patriarchal surveillance that turns private suffering into a spectacle of private consumption” (Petrovic 152). Anna, a peripheral character who is the daughter of Jewish immigrants, in turn represents the woman who seems to escape oppressive control of patriarchal authority exercised by the men in her life, but only manages so through suffering and horrific scarring as a result of a fire in the dress shop where she works endless hours as a seamstress. As Petrovic argues:

In the novel's last chapter, she [Anna Cohen] is badly burned in a fire in the dress shop where she works, an event that seems to signify her ultimate

victimhood. Yet in the previous scenes [...] Anna has revealed a growing resistance to the forces that would confine her, and even though she last appears only as an object of Ellen's meditation on the fire, that meditation prophesies the way horrific scarring may bring Anna economic power and free her from the male gaze." (Petrovic 152)

Other arguments used by Petrovic in his analysis of *Manhattan Transfer* include the "towering cityscape" as "an oppressive force that keeps citizens under continuous surveillance by the patriarchal authority of bourgeois capitalism" (ibid) and Dos Passos's images of light with which he "emphasizes the visibility that threatens freedom in the carceral city" (154).

Very recently, Dos Passos scholar from Central Michigan University William Brevda has written on *Manhattan Transfer* in connection with sociological elements of the New York of the 1920s and from a semiotic perspective. In his book *Signs of the Signs: The Literary Lights of Incandescence and Neon* (2011), he devotes a chapter to Dos Passos's work which he titled "How do I get to Broadway? Reading Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer* sign." By the same author, "The Hat in *Manhattan Transfer*" (2014) is a paper that deals with the hat as a symbol of "conformity, standardization and the Power of the fashion system" (Brevda, "The Hat" 1). Brevda addresses various fragments of *Manhattan Transfer* where the hat is used either as a symbol of "unity", like in the opening scene where the Brooklyn ferry arrives in Manhattan with a teeming crowd wearing the same hat (2), or as a sign of whether a man belongs or not to the Fashion system, "it's looks that count in this city" (Dos Passos, *Manhattan Transfer* 5 qtd. in ibid 3). These observations are contextualized by Brevda's account of various pieces of news that appeared in the American press of the 1920s where we read about violent acts against men wearing hats out of season, just as the man Jimmy Herf keeps thinking of as he flees

New York, towards the end of the novel: “Talk about the Unknown Soldier...That’s a real hero for you; the golden legend of the man who would wear a straw hat out of season” (ibid 401 qtd. in 7). For Brevda, the real life source for this incident in the novel was the killing of a man during a “Straw Hat Prank” the account of which was published in *The New York Times* in September 1924 (Brevda, “The Hat” 7). In those days, the tradition was that “Straw Hat Season began on Straw Hat Day, May 15, and ended on Felt Hat Day, September 15” (ibid 1). It was common for young men to chase those who did not abide by this custom, and sometimes these “pranks” had nasty or even fatal consequences, as in the case noted by Brevda. Thus, Brevda argues, the Fashion system is depicted by Dos Passos as one of the “strangling institutions” created by man Dos Passos referred to in his famous quote: “The basic tragedy my work tries to express remains monotonously the same: man’s struggle for life against the strangling institutions he himself creates.” (Dos Passos, *The Theme is Freedom* qtd. in Brevda 5) With a witty, at time humorous note, Brevda’s work provides a new, interesting approach to *Manhattan Transfer*.

3.3. Conclusions on the American reception of *Manhattan Transfer*

The American critical reception of *Manhattan Transfer* has not changed substantially through time. From its publication in 1925 the novel has provoked mixed reactions, even extreme reactions in some cases. There are, however, points in common. Most critics have always agreed on the originality of its narrative technique, and on Dos Passos’s creation of the American urban novel which played its part in the forging of 20th century American identity. On the negative side, there are often references to the weakness of characterization. For some, Dos Passos may have been trying to make New York the real protagonist, and so that weakness in characterization would be intentional.

But although Dos Passos was probably not as interested in his characters as he was in New York as a setting, he did not fail to construct his characters. Rather, he chose to diffuse them in order to convey the feeling of a city where the individual voices cannot be heard for long; a rat race of anonymous people whose stories can barely be heard in the multitude. Recurrent words in critics' reviews are "impressionistic", "collage-like", "kaleidoscopic", "expressionistic", "architectonic", "panoramic", "cinemascope"... The fact that they use these words to describe *Manhattan Transfer* indicates that the novel, at the least, may be read as a modernist work of art –and that is not a small thing to say.

New York brought *Manhattan Transfer* back to life through a Broadway theatre production based on a script by Martin M. Zuckerman and directed by Kathleen Swan. For Swan, Dos Passos's novel is "an American masterpiece", and adds: "It is astonishingly modern and perfectly captures what one character calls 'this epileptic city.'" Zuckerman declared that when he read the novel ten years ago, he immediately thought it "had the making of a fascinating play." It was on from July the 17th 2010 at The Shell and on stage throughout the summer. The publicity read as follows:

A foreign war, burgeoning immigration, market ups and downs, exhaustion from the last decade and fear mixed with hope as technology changes rapidly. It's just another typical day in today's society. But turn back the clocks 100 years and theatre goers will soon discover that life in the early 20th century was very similar, when they see *Manhattan Transfer*. Adapted from John Dos Passos's classic novel of the same name, *Manhattan Transfer*, by playwright Martin M. Zuckerman, is a portrait of a much younger New York City and told through the interconnected stories of exemplary Manhattanites. (BWW News Desk 1)

3.4. Overview of the critical reception of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain

In Spain, Dos Passos is often referred to as “the author of *Manhattan Transfer*.” Indeed, it is this novel that has traditionally attracted the Spanish reading public (as seen by the number of editions that keep coming out regularly), and not for example the trilogy *U.S.A.* or any of Dos Passos’s works inspired by Spain, such as *Rosinante to the Road Again*, (*Rocinante vuelve al camino* 1930), *A Pushcart at the Curb*, *Journeys Between Wars*, (*Viajes de entreguerras* 2005) or *Adventures of a Young Man* (*Aventuras de un joven* 1962). The reasons for this may be varied, but I will indicate those that—in my opinion—are the most likely.

The historical circumstances that surround the publishing history of Dos Passos’s novels in Spain vary considerably. *Manhattan Transfer* was first published in Spain in 1929 by Cenit, seven years before the breakout of the Spanish Civil War. It must have been a success, since there was a second edition only one year later, in 1930; after that, none until 1960 by Planeta. As we will see, the book had been censored by the Spanish regime in 1948, so this might have added to its popularity in intellectual circles during those prohibition years. In contrast, the publishing status of the trilogy *U.S.A.* in Spain was quite different. The three books that make up the *U.S.A.* trilogy, namely *The 42nd Paralell* (1930), *1919* (1932), and *The Big Money* (1936) were published in Spain for the first time thirty years after their originals, again in 1960 by Planeta. However, there had been previous attempts by publishers and importers dating back to 1947, according to the records at the Archivo General de la Administración; these were not authorized until 1960. According to the handwritten remarks by the censor, *The 42nd Paralell* (*El paralelo 42*) and *1919* (*La primera catástrofe (1919)*), were allowed without alterations or

deletions in the form in which their translations, credited to Argentinian Max Dickmann, were presented in the *galeradas* accompanying the application; the third one, translated as *El gran dinero* and also credited to Max Dickmann, was authorized in 1960 but with deletions by censors (cf. censorship file 880-61). An earlier edition published in Buenos Aires by Santiago Rueda had not legally circulated in Spain until 1962, due to censorship's restrictions on imported copies of certain books. The number of years that elapsed between the publication of its original in the United States and its publication in Spain by Planeta (1960) meant that the initial reception of the *U.S.A.* trilogy in Spain took place in a totally different socio-political setting, which might be one of the reasons why it did not attract much interest from the general reading public. Given the fact that the long years of isolation had stopped the country's development, Franco needed to find strong allies outside our frontiers. At the same time, cold war politics made the United States look for geo-strategic alliances and Spain was one of them. However, whereas in the late 1950s and into the 60s Franco's regime was trying to show the western world, particularly the Americans, that our country was opening up and that our administration supported American products, culture and politics, some anti-Americanism (with its historical precedent probably dating back to 1898 when Spain lost Cuba to the United States) began to spread at this time in Spain's intellectual circles, a feeling that later permeated other social classes, probably more as a reaction against Franco's politics than as a documented opinion against the Americans or American politics. Thus, the trilogy may have turned out to be "too" American for the taste of Spanish critics and intellectuals of the last two decades of Franco's regime.

Nonetheless, in the light of number of editions and/or reprints, the positive pre-Spanish Civil War reputation and popular success of *Manhattan Transfer* seems to have

remained intact through time, although evidence of the scholarly critical reception of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain is scarce. Sanders's bibliography (362-366) does not list any Spanish reviews of the novel, even though he does cite some foreign reviews of the late 20s, such as those that appeared in *La Revue Mondial*, *Nouvelle Review Francaise*, *Molodaya Gvardiya* or *Cuban Revista de Avance*. However, two important reviews had appeared in Spanish literary gazettes shortly after its publication, plus some other brief reviews published in two Madrid newspapers, namely *ABC* and *La Voz*, as well as in the book supplement of the Barcelona journal *La Revista Blanca*.

3.4.1. Early reception

It was José Robles Pazos in *La Gaceta Literaria* (Vol. 8, 15th April, 1927) who first wrote about the original English version of *Manhattan Transfer* in a Spanish publication, under a section called "Libros yankis." Although there is no evidence as to when Robles started to work on the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish, it could well have been around this time (1927) that he was considering it.

Robles's first review of the original *Manhattan Transfer* would then be used three years later as a prologue to Cenit's edition in 1930. In his review, Robles praises "Dos" both as a friend and as a writer. For Robles, John Dos Passos is the insatiable traveller, but one who does not merely observe.

Sin embargo, Dos Passos no es de esos americanos que, como él mismo dice, viajan para pasear sus baúles. Su insaciable curiosidad no se contenta con ver. Necesita vivir la vida que le rodea, amoldarse a las costumbres, aprender la lengua del país que visita. Es, en una palabra, todo lo contrario de un turista. (7)

Robles's admiration for Dos Passos is also apparent when he states that the American writer's views of Spain are more accurate and deeper than those of many

Spanish authors. Thus, when writing about his works of Spanish inspiration *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922) and *A Pushcart at the Curb* (1922) Robles says: “Sus ensayos sobre nuestras costumbres, nuestra psicología, nuestra literatura [...] revelan una perspicacia y una agudeza de observación que ya quisieran para sí muchos de nuestros ensayistas y poetas” (8). Robles praised Dos Passos’s technical mastery and —like American critics— he sees New York as the great protagonist. “El verdadero protagonista es Manhattan mismo [...] con sus viejas iglesias empotradas entre geométricos rascacielos, con sus cabarets resplandecientes, con su puerto brumoso y humeante y con sus carteles luminosos, que parpadean de noche...” (10). Robles defines the work as one of the best novels in recent American literature. It is striking, though, that Robles does not mention the language – not the *cuasi* poetic settings at the beginning of each chapter, or the peculiarity of the different characters’ voices. This makes me think that Robles had not yet started his work on the translation at the time of his review. Any translator who had had to face the daunting task of translating a work like *Manhattan Transfer* would have mentioned Dos Passos’s innovative use of language, adopting a technical approach. Robles focused on the author rather than the novel, unveiling his admiration for Dos Passos, the man, the friend. The result is that this first Spanish piece of criticism on *Manhattan Transfer* clearly presents a positive view of the novel, a view that —as we will see in the following pages— has pervaded over the years.

A contemporary of Robles, Spanish writer and critic Francisco Ayala, wrote a review of *Manhattan Transfer* in the prestigious literary review *Revista de Occidente* shortly after its publication in Spain in 1929. Ayala uses a more analytical approach than Robles, including a paragraph on the translation. Ayala focuses on Dos Passos’s masterful technique, one that —in his opinion— may attract both ordinary and expert readers. He praises the “architecture” of the novel, but also the way in which the characters are

presented. Unlike for American critics, who thought the novel's weakness was that its characters lacked a distinct self—the city of New York as protagonist—for Ayala, Dos Passos managed to create both a teaming multitude and distinct individuals. The use of language in the novel is also praised by Ayala, for whom it has an unquestionable poetic vein, in that Dos Passos takes language to the limit by reducing it to brief sketches of powerful expression. “Todo en esta novela es diáfano y concreto. Y aun siendo tan novela, tan unidad literaria, cada una de las partes que, como un mosaico, la componen, se basta a sí propia, tiene un valor poético, en ocasiones, extremado, y está lleno de intenciones líricas” (123). Or, on the next page: “Es posible hallar esas expresiones que adelgazan el lenguaje hasta dotarlo de una rara virtud sugestiva, junto a otras, duras y plásticas, que procuran al lector la proximidad a realidades tangibles, inmediatas” (124). Regarding the translation, Ayala praises Robles's work, but also mentions his failure to render into Spanish the local accents and inflexions of the characters' speech or the finer shades of meaning, allowing for the impossibility of such a task. (124)

In the *ABC*, José María Salaverría (7) wrote a review of *Manhattan Transfer* under a tone of “mixed feelings” and longing for the good old times of Emerson, Whitman or James, when both morality and literature relied on Christian values; this shift, in his opinion, is due to the rapid changes experimented by American society, which is undergoing moral and spiritual transformations after World War I. However, he acknowledges the greatness of the novel, and quotes Cervantes on *La Celestina*: “Libro, a mi entender, divino si encubriera más lo humano.” But Salaverría adds:

Bien, dejemos las comparaciones; rebajemos también lo de divino. Siempre quedará una fuerte novela, salpicada de palabras brutales. Pero es que si no fuera así perdería la mitad de su carácter y de su oficio. El oficio

de revelarnos lo que llora, ríe y hoza en el interior o en la parte baja de ese gran monumento de los Estados Unidos. (7)

Thus, Salaverría was very much on the same line as the more traditional American critics, who saw the quality of Dos Passos enterprise but disapproved of some of the language used or the crude way reality was shown.

Two other critics writing about *Manhattan Transfer* in *La Voz* and *La Revista Blanca* respectively in that summer of 1929 do not mention morality, but are more focused on the quality of the work. For Andrenio (1), the absolute lack of structure in the novel is a drawback, but he admits to have been impressed by the extraordinary intuitive force of its scenes, that together form a quasi cubistic portrait of New York. In Andrenio's opinion, the novel is impressive and interesting, but lacks the literary quality of the great masterpieces.

In the book review that appeared in *La Revista Blanca* in August 1929, Dos Passos is depicted as one of the promising young writers from the United States. America is seen as a country where things are moving very fast, with its skyscrapers, its massive cities, mechanization and the absurdity of hurried lives. This state of things would have given way to a new form of art inaugurated by Dos Passos:

Manhattan Transfer da una sensación de vértigo: la misma sensación que produce, a un observador en la esquina de una calle de mucho tránsito, el desfile rápido y continuo de gente. Es la obra más profundamente nueva, moderna de procedimiento y de fondo, que he leído. (VII)

Next in our chronological outline of the Spanish reception of *Manhattan Transfer*, we come across the first-hand testimony of Ernest Hemingway, who happened to be in Spain shortly after its publication, in 1931. In those days, Ernest Hemingway and John

Dos Passos were still friends²⁷. From World War I until their trip to Spain during the Civil War in 1937 for the filming of the documentary *The Spanish Earth* with Joris Ivens. They shared many things in common, including their love for this country. In June 1931 Hemingway wrote Dos Passos from Spain about the Spanish reception of *Manhattan Transfer*. Hemingway describes it as a complete success; in pre-war Spain Dos Passos is read and re-read and considered a myth. Thus he writes:

You are the great writer of Spain [...] They all think I am bullshitting because I claim to be a friend of yours. Nobody has read Manhattan [Transfer] less than 4 times. In spite of descriptive introduction you are supposed to be an old man about Unamuno's age – otherwise how did you have time to know the Bajo [sic] fondos so well and have so much experience. I swear to God they think I am one of these guys who claims to know toreros when I say we are old pals. Send me a book inscribed to me in warm terms or I will be lynchiado-ed as an impostor [...] (qtd. in Ludington, *Fourteenth Chronicle* 342)

This is the last record of the reception of *Manhattan Transfer* by direct witnesses shortly after its two editions in 1929 and 1930. Due to restrictions imposed by censorship during Franco's regime, it is not until the 1960s that we find new traces of *Manhattan Transfer*'s critical reception.

3.4.2. Later reception: From 1960 until the 1990s

From the 1960s, Spanish readers have had access to various editions of *Manhattan Transfer* with prologues by prestigious writers and/or critics. In 1962, editor Santiago Rueda made available in Spain his 1941 Argentinian edition of *Manhattan Transfer* with

²⁷ Various authors have written about this friendship and their rupture. In Spain, one of the first was Catalina Montes (1987).

a prologue by critic and translator Max Dickman. Once more, his is a positive reaction to the novel. For Dickman, it is a milestone in the history of the novel, “una obra prolija como un mosaico de dibujos y arabescos precisos.” He sees the book as a call for sympathy and mutual understanding, “una llamada a la comprensión y piedad humanas para las vidas y corazones destrozados,” a view which is new and not mentioned by other critics. (VI)

Spanish critic Carlos Rojas wrote the prologue to Planeta’s edition of Dos Passos’s novels published in 1961. In the opening paragraphs of this prologue, Rojas almost paraphrases Robles’s prologue to the 1930 edition by Cenit, with a description of Dos Passos as a tall, short sighted man, the constant traveller; the biographical notes are also similarly organised, and so is the account of Dos Passos’s initial works. When presenting *Manhattan Transfer*, the city of New York as protagonist plus the vast number of characters immersed in dehumanized lives are his central arguments. Rojas’s review is reminiscent of other critics’ views and does not introduce any new elements for analysis. It is again a warm appraisal of Dos Passos’s innovative techniques but does not supply new elements for consideration.

Six years later, in 1967, Rojas wrote the introductory notes to a book titled *Maestros Norteamericanos*, published by Planeta, which was a collection of selected contemporary American writers and that included *Manhattan Transfer*. With a biographical approach, Rojas presents *Manhattan Transfer* as an autobiography of John Dos Passos, drawing parallelisms between Dos Passos’s early life and his characters. For Rojas, Jimmy Herf is Dos Passos himself; Dos Passos’s father, a self-made man, probably inspired the character of George Baldwin, a materialist lawyer; his illegitimate origin would have made Dos Passos write about unwanted children and abortion; Lily Herf vanishes from Jimmy’s life just as Dos Passos’s mother did: “Para John Dos Passos y

para Jimmy Herf sus madres eran seres indiferentes; no les reprochan haberlos parido
bordes, aunque acaso no les perdonen que los concibieran” (824). For Rojas, the peak of
Dos Passos’s career was the publication of *Manhattan Transfer* and the trilogy *U.S.A.*.
Just like American critics, Rojas thinks Dos Passos’s creativity as a writer went in decline
from then on. However, he should be acknowledged as a key writer in the development of
narrative fiction. The review includes a bibliography of American criticism on Dos
Passos until 1964, so presumably Rojas’s view is permeated by earlier American
criticism.

More recent criticism of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain includes prologues by the
prominent writers Mario Vargas Llosa and Carlos Fuentes. The fact that *Manhattan
Transfer* is reprinted so often, with prologues by prestigious authors, is an indication of
the novel’s status in Spain as a major work of 20th century literature. Mario Vargas Llosa
was asked to write the prologue to the 1989 edition of *Manhattan Transfer* by Círculo de
Lectores. In it, Vargas Llosa sees the novel not only as a finished work of art that was
revolutionary in its time and that has influenced generations of writers, but as a parable of
a chaotic world. Dos Passos was right to think that money made man more prosperous,
but not happier. In Vargas Llosa’s words *Manhattan Transfer* “además de una de las más
admirables ficciones modernas, seguirá siendo una advertencia que pende como una
espada sobre nuestras cabezas” (18). For Vargas Llosa, the novel is a reflection on the
changing morals of the time; this moral approach is the most characteristic feature of
Vargas Llosa’s review.

Spanish journalist, novelist and critic Belén Gopegui introduced a new element for
consideration in her review of *Manhattan Transfer* that served as prologue to the 1995
edition by Debate. Her view is totally new within the panorama of the novel’s criticism in
Spain. For this critic, the plot is led by two main characters, Ellen Thatcher and Jimmy

Herf, whose personality is created by all the characters and circumstances that surround them:

Es imposible hablar de lo que le pasa a Jimmy Herf sin contar lo que le pasa a Stan, su amigo, Ellen Thatcher, su esposa, a George Baldwin, un rico abogado que se casará con Ellen cuando ella se divorcie de Jimmy, [...] contar la historia de uno exige contar la historia de muchos. (viii)

Gopegui strongly disagrees with the critics who affirm that the real protagonist of the novel is the city of New York. In this sense her view is opposite to that of Robles's – among others. For her, New York is the setting where the lives of Ellen and Jimmy and many others take place, but it is they who mark the time in the story and that give meaning to it. Gopegui says that the idea of New York as the main character of the novel is far too vague and confusing, and it is “además inexacta y distrae al lector del sentido de la novela [...] Toda la novela se articula en torno a la vida de estos dos personajes [Ellen and Jimmy] y quien no lo sepa [...] perderá el sentido del transcurso del tiempo en la novela y también el sentido de la historia” (x). I have re-read the novel under this light and I find her views convincing.

3.4.3. *Manhattan Transfer* in 21st century Spain

Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes in his prologue for the 2000 edition of the novel, published by Círculo de Lectores, provides another thorough review of *Manhattan Transfer*, emphasizing the connection between modern art and *Manhattan Transfer*, a new approach amongst Spanish critics. For Fuentes, *Manhattan Transfer* is part of the *avantgarde* artistic movements of the first decades of the 20th century, characterized by a new, revolutionary conception of time and movement. The work is built upon images and language –imaginative language. For Fuentes, this creative language could be compared with that of Picasso in *Las Señoritas de Aviñón*. He is undoubtedly right to say that Dos Passos's images through language are extremely difficult to translate into Spanish –if not impossible: “...Las calles son *shiverycold* (¿frigoritrémulas?), las mujeres *pigeonbreasted* (¿pechopalominas?), las luces de la ciudad *ginwhite whiskeyellow ciderfizzling* (¿albuginebrinas whiskyamarillentas sidrasiseantes?)...” (14)

Another untranslatable feature of Dos Passos's language in *Manhattan Transfer* is what Fuentes calls “*lenguaje migratorio*.” New York is presented as a city of immigrants, and therefore, the city's language becomes diverse and complex. The novel rests upon a language that opens to the world —English exported from Britain to New England— and then invaded by other migratory languages, and this gives the novel an immense linguistic richness; but beyond language, or rather sustained by these language variations, Dos Passos presents multiple levels of reality.

The idea of constant movement, uprooted characters, all of them obsessed by success and materialism, give *Manhattan Transfer*, in Fuentes' opinion, an atmosphere of extreme bitterness: “Esta, al cabo, es la realidad anímica de *Manhattan Transfer*. Una profunda tristeza” (18). Fuentes gives an excellent picture of the literary/historical context of the novel, plus an in-depth analysis of Dos Passos's technique, style and language.

Fuentes notes a Spanish influence from Pío Baroja that has already been discussed by Vázquez-Bigi (1972) and Bredendick (1999). Just like for Vargas Llosa, for Fuentes, the reception by the more conservative critics of *Manhattan Transfer* in America was unfair, as it usually happens with artistic *avantgarde* movements. It was only his colleagues, novelists themselves, who understood and praised the novel. Fitzgerald, Hemingway, D.H. Lawrence and Sinclair Lewis, among others, are cited by Fuentes as the novel's most unconditional supporters. After this basic contextualization of *Manhattan Transfer* in its time, Fuentes reviews Dos Passos's literary career before and after *Manhattan Transfer*, noting that Dos Passos was only 29 in 1925. *Three Soldiers* (1921) and *U.S.A.* (1930) are the "before" and "after" *Manhattan Transfer*, seen by Fuentes as a transitional work "...un puente entre aquella obra inicial y estas obras culminantes del arte de Dos Passos," from a subjective approach to a collective one. Fuentes recalls some other "famous" novels of the year as announced by the publisher: *Clara Barron* by Harvey O'Higgins, and *Gertrude Havilland's Divorce* by Inez Haynes Irwin, with a reflection on how well Dos Passos's novel has survived over the years, unlike the other two –best sellers in the 1920s.

Spanish journalist and writer Santos Sanz Villanueva wrote the prologue to the 2002 edition of *Manhattan Transfer* by MDS books/Mediasat. Sanz Villanueva acknowledges Dos Passos's contribution to 20th century literature, with a very positive view of the novel. In his opinion, Dos Passos deliberately approached his characters in a superficial manner, to put emphasis on the absence of authorial voice and therefore achieve more objectiveness, in a filmic manner. Sanz Villanueva remarks how well the novel has survived over the years, and to what extent its themes are still present today. *Manhattan Transfer* "conserva una impactante actualidad. Se diría que está escrito en el día de hoy." (4)

From the immediate reactions contemporary to the novel's appearance in the late twenties and early thirties, to more recent analysis of the work decades later, the Spanish critics' view of *Manhattan Transfer* has been an extremely positive one, characterized by a fascination for the city of New York and for Dos Passos's innovative techniques both in the use of language and in the structuring of the novel. There is enough evidence to say that Dos Passos was indeed a very popular writer in Spain between 1929 and 1936. Later in his life, when he returned to Spain in the early 1960s, he was still talked about with admiration by journalists and critics; if we look at the number of editions of *Manhattan Transfer* that keep coming out regularly, Spanish readers are still interested in Dos Passos's New York of the 1920s.

In the last decades of the 20th century there was a renewed interest in Dos Passos and his works, with the publication of most of his novels in Spanish and the constant re-editions of *Manhattan Transfer*. In those years, critics and scholars wrote about Dos Passos and his works with admiration (particularly on *Manhattan Transfer* and the *U.S.A.* trilogy), and also about Dos Passos in Spain, with some authors regretting that this great American writer was unjustly ignored by critics if compared with the Spanish reception of Hemingway, Faulkner or Scott Fitzgerald. Indeed, despite the positive image of Dos Passos in Spain, critical evidence of his influence on Spanish writers is scarce. In an article published by *El País Semanal* in 2008, Spanish writer and critic Benjamín Prado asked one hundred Spanish and Latin American writers which five books had changed their lives; writers such as Faulkner, Conrad or Salinger were among the top fifty on the list; only one writer, Jorge Eduardo Benavides, chose *Manhattan Transfer* (Prado, *Cien escritores* 58).

In 2011, Universidad Complutense de Madrid researcher Rebeca Gualberto published an article titled "La ciudad enferma: Espacio, metáfora y mito en *Manhattan*

Transfer, de John Dos Passos.” Gualberto holds that in this Dos Passos’s novel, the city of New York “is represented as the sick space of modernity” (176). From a symbolic, myth-criticism perspective, this researcher argues that the study of literary representations of the city is crucial for the analysis of the “Zeitgeist” —the intellectual and cultural atmosphere— of its times. In the case of *Manhattan Transfer*, the modern metropolis becomes a sick, mythical space, the metaphorical extension of a sick community of individuals. For Gualberto the American modernist zeitgeist combines hostility towards the city and, at the same time, fascination by it. Dehumanization, a sense of frustration and the feeling that death (physical or spiritual) is always present, are some of the elements analyzed by Gualberto (cf.177-179). Intertextuality and biblical and Arthurian allusions in the novel are also analyzed in this article, which relates the portrayal of New York in *Manhattan Transfer* with the Celtic myth of the Wasteland. The author concludes:

Manhattan Transfer reproduce y reinterpreta el mito premoderno de la Tierra Baldía —es decir, un mito de enfermedad y regeneración— y [...] a través de un proceso de mitificación morbosa, configure el espacio urbano como metáfora de una afección social que estigmatiza a la comunidad moderna. Desde los códigos simbólicos del texto, la degeneración de dicha comunidad moderna y, por tanto, urbana— se intuye irreparable. (192-93)

In recent years, *Manhattan Transfer* and John Dos Passos have been revisited by Spanish critics interested in the cultural, literary and historical background of Civil War Spain. After Martínez de Pisón (2005) reconstructed the story of José Robles Pazos — often referred to by everyone as *the* translator of *Manhattan Transfer*— the name of Dos Passos has been re-linked to Spain for present-day readers. Currently, the connection Dos Passos-Robles is the most distinctive feature of the Spanish reception of *Manhattan*

Transfer, and one that distinguishes it as compared with its reception in other countries. This is surely one of the main reasons why it is *Manhattan Transfer* and not the *U.S.A.* trilogy that is best known in Spain. Translators of the trilogy Marcelo Cohen (*Paralelo 42*), Jesús Zulaika (*El gran dinero*) or Mariano Antolín Rato (*1919*) remain almost anonymous (just like most translators), whereas Robles and *Manhattan Transfer* have become a part of our cultural identity. I will deal with the effect of the Robles's case on the current interpretation of John Dos Passos in Spain in more detail in Chapter 4.

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Translation is rewriting and rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power. (Bassnett and Lefevere)

CHAPTER 4

REWRITINGS

4.1. Introduction to the Spanish rewritings of *Manhattan Transfer*

As Lefevere held, there are external factors beyond the purely literary ones that make certain authors and/or some of their works become a part of the literary canon of any given cultural system. I agree with Lefevere that “rewritings” in the form of criticism, translation, film, press, and digital media contents, play a major role in the reputation of every literary work and thus, in its survival through time. As Lefevere says:

Rewriting is simply a cultural given of our time. The images of a literary work created by translations and other rewritings are far more likely to attract non-professional readers than the work’s strength or venerability as an original is. (*Translating Literature* 14).

In the case of literature that was originally published some years back, the historical contexts in which such rewritings take place may also have a significant impact in the survival of the work through the years, as I will argue is the case of John Dos Passos in Spain and *Manhattan Transfer*.

The reasons that first move publishers within a given polysystem to accept or reject a text coming from outside the system will surely include ideological and economic considerations as well as poetical ones. But the reasons that maintain such work in the system through time are not only connected to ideology, economy and/or poetics, but also

to the nature of its rewritings. This is particularly true in the case of *Manhattan Transfer*, as I will argue in the following pages.

My contention is that alongside the favourable critical reception characteristic of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain through time, there are three major socio-cultural and/or political factors that have played a significant role in the Spanish construction of John Dos Passos. The first determining factor is the context in which the first Spanish rewriting of Dos Passos—in the form of translation—took place: the publication by Cenit in 1929 of the first edition of *Manhattan Transfer*. The fact that it was a communist publisher and not any of the other general or purely literary publishers gave *Manhattan Transfer* and John Dos Passos a very specific status. The second one is the banning of the novel by Franco's censors—which made it unavailable in bookshops for about twenty years making Cenit's edition an object of cult for the more liberal intellectuals—followed by its surprising reappearance in a luxury collection of classics by theoretically conservative publishers, Editorial Planeta, whose powerful marketing and sales strategy combined with an ability to elude censorship turned John Dos Passos into a “reputable” author in the 1960s. The third factor is the book, film, press and digital rewritings of the Robles-Hemingway-Dos Passos triangle in a context of Spanish Civil War literary boom also fed by an ongoing interest in Spanish society to vindicate our historical memory in recent years.

4.2. A publishing history of the Spanish editions of *Manhattan Transfer*

The first necessary step in order to analyse the impact of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain, was to compile a bibliography of the Spanish editions of the novel. In this section I will refer to the twenty-eight editions that have been published in Spain between 1929 (first publication of the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain) to date. In order to be able to bring together all the Spanish editions I have used various sources; the Spanish ISBN (International Standard Book Numbers) catalogue, which includes books for sale in Spain from 1972 to date; the Biblioteca Nacional and other major public libraries included in the CSIC (Spanish Official Institute for Advanced Research); the files kept by the Archivo General de la Administración that cover the applications for publication of foreign literature in Spain between 1939 and approximately 1975; additionally, I have also checked Sanders (1987), since his bibliography on Dos Passos's works also included translations of his works into other languages²⁸.

The ISBN reference was essential in order to establish the degree of interest that Dos Passos's work has inspired in more recent times. However, given the fact that the information provided by that catalogue includes books for sale in Spain since 1972 (although one can find occasionally older records), other sources were consulted to compensate for those gaps. Therefore I turned to the catalogues of the Biblioteca Nacional, which provided information on the existing copies of *Manhattan Transfer* in the Spanish National Library; that information was useful in order to supplement the information on the Spanish editions of *Manhattan Transfer* in the years not covered by the ISBN. The catalogues of all public libraries across the country were also searched for publications of

²⁸ Sanders' Bibliography only lists the very first edition by Cenit 1929 plus a Cuban edition of 1964

Manhattan Transfer before 1972. Finally, I turned to the Archives in Alcalá de Henares to check on the applications for the publishing of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain under Franco's regime.

Naturally, in the course of my research I have come across information on other works by Dos Passos published in Spain. It is of interest to note that of the 64 entries by Dos Passos in the ISBN catalogue, 24 correspond to *Manhattan Transfer*; of these 20 are Spanish versions, 1 was translated into Basque, 1 into Italian, 1 into Galician and finally 1 was published in an English abridged version for Primary school students. It is also interesting to note here that the last ISBN record for *Manhattan Transfer* dates from 2005, whereas I have found newer reprints in the Spanish National Library, i.e. 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011 and 2014. There has been a translation into Catalan by Manuel de Pedrolo with various editions from the 1980s onwards. From 2000 to 2015 a total of 17 works by Dos Passos were published in Spain: seven of these were editions of *Manhattan Transfer* (one of them in Galician and another one in Basque); the others were *Rocinante vuelve al camino*, *Paralelo 42*, *Viajes de entreguerras*, *Años inolvidables*, *Orient Express*, *El número uno*; *Iniciación de un hombre: 1917*, y *Ante la silla eléctrica*. From these data I can conclude that there is a renewed interest in Spain for the re-edition/re-print of Dos Passos's works, but also that *Manhattan Transfer* is still the most popular of his works in our country. For a full list of the editions of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain see Table 2.

All Dos Passos's novels have been published in Spain —except for *Century's Ebb*, which was published posthumously in the United States in 1975, unfinished and unrevised— plus the travel and political articles collected under: *The Best Times* (*Años inolvidables*, Madrid: Alianza, 1973) *A Tour of Duty* (*En misión del deber*, Barcelona: Planeta, 1959); *In All countries* (*En todos los países*, Barcelona: Planeta, 1959); *Orient Express* (*Oriente Express*, Barcelona: Planeta, 1959) and *Rosinante to the Road Again*



(*Rocinante vuelve al camino*, Madrid: Argis, 1930), *Journeys Between Wars* (*Viajes de entreguerras*, Barcelona: Península, 2005), and *Facing the chair: Story of the Americanization of two Foreign-Born American Workmen* (*Ante la silla eléctrica: la verdadera historia de Sacco y Vanzetti*, Madrid: Errata Naturae, 2011).

Table 2. *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain: Bibliographical Data

| Front cover | Translator | Publisher |
|---|--------------------|---|
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Madrid: Cenit, 1929. |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Madrid: Cenit, 1930. |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Planeta 1960. Colección "Goliat"; vol. 144 |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Planeta 1961. Colección "Clásicos contemporáneos" |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Editorial Planeta S.A., 1980. |
|  | José Robles. | Barcelona: Bruguera, S.A., 1982. Club Bruguera, Vol. 41 |
|  | José Robles. | Barcelona: Mundo Actual de Ediciones, S.A., 1983. |

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|--|
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Bruguera, S.A., 1984. Libro Amigo, Vol. 860. |
|  | Translator not mentioned. | Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, S.A., 1984. |
|  | José Robles. | Barcelona: Plaza and Janés Editores, S.A., 1986. El Ave Fénix, Vol. 81 |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, S.A., 1989. |
|  | José Robles. | Barcelona: Plaza and Janés Editores, S.A., 1991. Gran antología de la literatura universal del siglo XX, Vol. 5. |
|  | Enrique Robles [sic]. | Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1992. Grandes novelistas mundiales, Vol. 12 |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: RBA Coleccionables, S.A., 1995. Clásicos del siglo XX, Vol. 19. |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, S.A., 1995. |

| | | |
|---|---------------------|--|
|  | José Robles P. | Barcelona: Editorial Debate, 1995. Últimos Clásicos. |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Editorial Debate, 1999. |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, S.A., 2002. |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Madrid: Diario El País, S.A., 2003. Clásicos del siglo XX, Vol. 17 |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Madrid: Mediasat Group, S.A., 2003. |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2004. |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Edhasa, 2005 |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2006. |
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Edhasa, 2007. Colección Diamante |

| | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------------------|
|  | José Robles Pazos. | Barcelona: Edhasa, 2008. |
|  | José Robles Piquer. | Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2009. |

4.3. An overview of the publishing industry in pre-Civil War years in Spain

In some countries with strong cultural systems where a dominant language is spoken, the impact of translated literature in the system as a whole is limited. In others with non dominant cultures or undergoing periods of crisis in their own literary production, translated literature can occupy a central position. The Spanish case is peculiar in that, despite the fact that our own language and our literary tradition are strong, we have been open to external cultural influences and, at certain times in our history, translated literature has gained importance²⁹ as in the case of pre-Spanish Civil War years, characterized by the popularity of translated foreign works that brought in new, socially and politically revolutionary views of the world.

The Spanish publishing world experienced a remarkable development in the first decades of the twentieth century as a result of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century and the gradual modernization of the book industry (Larraz 197-8). In those years, the different roles of those taking part in the selection, printing, distribution and sales of books were often played by printers, as in the case of Pueyo, or by booksellers

²⁹ For an account of the history of translation in Spain see Lafarga and Pegenaute (eds), *Historia de la Traducción en España*. Ambos Mundos: Salamanca 2004.

that not only sold but also published, as in the case of Beltrán or San Martín (ibid 198). But the modern, professional publisher —*editor* in Spanish — appears in Spain in the 1920s. These new publishers were characterized by the fact that they carried out not only an intellectual activity in the sense that they made a qualified choice of what they wanted to publish, often looking for a distinct publishing profile, but a business one too. These new publishers were very much aware of the importance of adequate management which included investment, advertising and distribution, and carefully supervised the manufacturing process, including typography and book covers. These publishers at times were groups of people in charge of big publishing houses of the time, such as Espasa-Calpe or CIAP, or just one single person as in the case of Rafael Giménez Siles (Cenit) or Manuel Aguilar (Ediciones Aguilar), who reportedly supervised and managed all of the above mentioned aspects (ibid). Most major Spanish publishing houses originated at the turn of the 20th century. They were mostly family-run businesses, with limited funding but outstanding founders.

La segregación del trabajo según los imperativos de rentabilidad del capital dio lugar (...) a la fundación de la mayoría de las casas editoriales que (...) se convirtieron en los pilares de la industria española. Así se fundaron Reus (1852), Espasa (1865), Calleja (1876), Sopena (1896), Salvat (1897), Gustavo Gili (1902) (...) [cuyos fundadores] constituyeron la primera gran generación de editores españoles. (Larraz 199).

Gradually, publishers and booksellers joined together in professional associations and became organized in order to promote the Spanish book industry and expand it in Latin America. When World War I broke up in Europe, Spain's neutral position benefited our book industry, which translated into a 167% increase in the number of publishing houses between 1900 and 1930 (Martínez Martín 177 qtd. in Larraz 200). It also meant an

increased flow of money into the book industry, with some of the former family-run publishing houses becoming limited companies, which enabled their expansion in Latin-American countries (ibid).

One major event that consolidated the book industry was the Conferencia Nacional del Libro in Madrid in 1927, which set into motion the reforms that publishers and authors had so long been demanding from the government, namely the prosecution of fraudulent editions, favourable tax policy and cultural production stimulus (291-2). Another influential factor in the popularization of books was the proliferation of critical reviews and journals, with the appearance of outstanding critics such as Guillermo de Torre, Enrique Díez Canedo and Benjamín Jarnés (ibid 203-4). These included purely literary journals such as *Revista de Occidente*, led by prominent Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, but also politically committed publications such as *Post-Guerra*, that called for literary-political activism and which later developed into the *editoriales de avanzada* (V. Fuentes 545).

For Larraz, there were four main types of publishing houses in those years. The first one includes the recently-created large publishing enterprises, with sophisticated production processes and strong business structures. The Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones (CIAP) and Espasa Calpe are examples of this, publishing the work of authors such as Pío Baroja, Miguel de Unamuno, Concha Espina and Wenceslao Fernández Flórez, to name a few (205-7). Secondly, there were a number of not so large publishers which had heterogeneous catalogues and were not particularly concerned about the artistic quality of what they published, but rather needed to be cautious in their investments and were conservative in their author choices, trying to ensure sales success. The most important publisher of this second group was Aguilar, well known for its luxury editions of classic writers (Shakespeare, Dostoievski, Galdós, etc.); others were Editorial

Juventud (publishers of Pearl S.Buck in Spain), Caro Raggio, Mundo Latino and Biblioteca Nueva, this latter well known for being the publishers of Ramón Gómez de la Serna among others. Pueyo is another publisher worth mentioning in this group, known as the *editor de los modernistas* (the publisher of Spanish modernist writers). Authors published by Pueyo included Rubén Darío, Antonio and Manuel Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez (ibid 208-9).

The third group of publishers mentioned by Larraz are those known as *editoriales de avanzada* to which Cenit, Dos Passos's first publisher in Spain, belongs. I will refer to these in more detail in the next section. Finally, a fourth group of publishers which included minority publishers, purely literary ones that barely printed a thousand copies for each edition. The most prominent one in this group was *Revista de Occidente* (with an important humanities journal of the same name), directed by José Ortega y Gasset, which made a vast contribution to Spanish cultural life in the 1920s and 30s.

Revista de Occidente [...] nació en 1924 y, dirigida personalmente por Ortega y Gasset, vertió al castellano obras de grandes filósofos, sociólogos y psicólogos de los siglos XIX y XX, como Hegel [...], Schopenhauer [...], Jung, Bertrand Russell [...] Kierkegaard [...] lo cual permitió por primera vez al público lector en castellano acceder a los pensadores más representativos del momento y ponerlo en contacto con las corrientes intelectuales europeas. (Larraz 211)

But not only did *Revista de Occidente* contribute to the widening of our cultural system through translations of prominent foreign intellectuals, they also published major works of the Spanish *vanguardias* and writers of the *generación del 27* such as Federico García Lorca, Pedro Salinas and Francisco Ayala (ibid 211), among others, whose review

of the Spanish translation of *Manhattan Transfer* was precisely published in the journal of the same name in 1929.

4.4. 'Editoriales de avanzada'

In the first decades of the twentieth century Spain continued to be immersed in political instability, with the combination of the agonizing monarchy of Alfonso XIII and the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (which would end in 1931 with the establishment of the Second Republic). International political movements, most notably socialism and fascism, together with workers' movements, were also present in Spain and this inevitably reflected in publishing tendencies of the time.

As a result of the new workers' movements and against the horrors of the Great War, the so called *editoriales de avanzada* emerged in the period 1927-1933. These were a number of new publishing houses that focused on socio-revolutionary books, both fiction and non-fiction.

En los últimos tiempos de la monarquía, el libro social de tendencia revolucionaria invade el mercado editorial. Con agudo sentido comercial, los editores, viendo la dirección en la que se movía el público, se dedicaron a lanzar libros que [...] significaban repudio del régimen político-social establecido. Estos libros, de gran éxito editorial, contribuyeron a la formación de una nueva conciencia político-social revolucionaria en las capas medias de la sociedad española. (V. Fuentes 545)

These publishers, mostly young communists that used to write for *Post-Guerra* and gathered in the *tertulia* of Café Savoia in Madrid (V. Fuentes 545), managed to publish "revolutionary" books avoiding censorship. Apparently, the authorities were concerned about the propagation of revolutionary ideas among the working class and

exercised strong censorship over pamphlets and periodicals, but did not worry about books since they thought the poor, less privileged working class would not have access to them because of their high prices. As Spanish profesor Gonzalo Santonja writes:

“(...) preocupado por la honda penetración de ‘ideas peligrosas’ en los ambientes populares a través de periódicos, revistas [...] Primo de Rivera se apresuró a imponer un rígido sistema de censura previa a las publicaciones periódicas haciendo caso omiso de todos aquellos libros que alcanzasen un mínimo de doscientas páginas” (*La República de los libros* 10).

In this state of things, the founders of *Post-Guerra* decided to stop the publication of their magazine and created Ediciones Oriente, a publishing company that would enable them to oppose the government through the publication of radical books exceeding 200 pages. The name chosen was in itself a mission statement: a way to mark the difference with Ortega’s *Revista de Occidente*. (V. Fuentes 546). The board’s intention was initially more ideological than commercial and as one of the founders, José Venegas, recalls in his book *Andanzas y recuerdos de España*, they never expected to have a business success but to disseminate the works of foreign radical writers. In his own words “no aspirábamos a realizar un negocio productivo, sino simplemente a difundir entre los lectores de nuestra lengua esos libros que estaban formando la conciencia del porvenir de la humanidad.” (Venegas qtd. in V. Fuentes 546).

However, against what the members of Ediciones Oriente had expected, the enterprise was a commercial success, and some left to pursue their own projects of a similar nature. As a result, *Cenit* (1928-1936) was constituted by Rafael Giménez Siles and Juan Andrade Rodríguez —former members of Ediciones Oriente— together with radical republican lawyer Graco Marsá. Giménez Siles had met Juan Andrade some

months earlier, during their imprisonment in Madrid's *cárcel* Modelo for their political opposition to the government. As Santonja writes:

Y en la mismísima cárcel Modelo, considerando la favorable acogida de los lectores, pero advirtiendo asimismo la inadecuada estructura comercial e interna de Ediciones Oriente, Giménez Siles y Graco Marsá, obteniendo además la valiosa incorporación de Juan Andrade (muy bien introducido en los sugerentes ambientes de la joven intelectualidad revolucionaria europea), acordaron crear una nueva editorial. (Breve Perfil 129)

Initially located in Madrid's street Concepción Jerónima, they soon moved to Lagasca 55 and then to Velázquez 36, its definitive address. Across their existence, they used various printers, among them Argis —where *Manhattan Transfer* was printed— Imp-Rot, Gráficas Uguina or Torrent, among others. Between 1931 and 1936, communist law professor at Universidad de Salamanca Wenceslao Roces became director of Cenit. They published over two hundred titles belonging to 25 different collections of various genres, from political essays to drama and novels, and even health books (Santonja, "Breve perfil de la editorial Cenit" 132-3).

Some of the authors published by Cenit came from America, like Dos Passos or Sinclair Lewis —whose novel *Babbitt* was also first published by Cenit in a translation by Robles— but many came from the Soviet Union and Germany (ibid 138). The list included Henri Barbusse, Herman Hesse, Upton Sinclair, Mijail Cholokhov, Fedor Gladkov, Karl Marx, Fiedrich Engels and Maksim Gorki, among others. Spanish authors included Ramón J. Sender and César Vallejo.

From today's perspective we can say that Cenit and the other *editoriales de avanzada* played a key role. They broadened the Spanish cultural system not only by

opening it to the more “advanced” or radical views of the time, but more importantly, by making them accessible to the general reading public. In Santonja’s words:

En definitiva, los hombres de Cenit —encabezados por Giménez Siles— cumplieron una función de singular trascendencia [...] en la incorporación a nuestro panorama cultural de una crecida nómina de autores europeos y norteamericanos que por derecho propio figuran en la historia de la literatura contemporánea (recordaré algunos nombres: Herman Hesse, Dos Passos, Sinclair Lewis, [...] en la divulgación rigurosa de postulados marxistas [...] y en el acierto [...] al facilitar cauce de expresión a dos jóvenes autores de considerable proyección: César Vallejo y Ramón J. Sender. (*La República de los libros* 76)

The translation of *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish belongs to what Santonja considers the initial period of Cenit (1928-1932) when they mostly published literary works, especially novels. These were written by what they called *novelistas nuevos*, writers whose works had a strong political and/or social component, plus in many cases an anti-war attitude. This may have been one of the reasons that made Giménez Siles publish two works by Dos Passos, whose reputation as a social activist was still intact in those years, reinforced by his anti-war novel *Three Soldiers* (1921).³⁰

³⁰ The Spanish translation of *Three Soldiers* (*Tres Soldados*) was published in 1948 by José Janés, Barcelona firmada por Mary Rowe. The currently available edition (Debolsillo 2014) is credited to the same translator.

4.5. *Manhattan Transfer* and censorship

As shown on the bibliographical listing of the Spanish editions of *Manhattan Transfer*, it was first published in Spain in 1929. After a second edition in 1930, there are no traces of further editions until 1960, after Planeta was authorized to print in Spain two thousand copies of the novel. The authorization had come in 1957 from the censorship office known as “Sección de Inspección de Libros” within the Spanish Ministerio de Educación Nacional, after some failed attempts by other publishers in the previous decade. These twenty seven years of silence are due to historical circumstances: the Civil War years (1936-39) stalled much of the editorial production; many intellectuals went to live in exile. In the post war years under Franco, all published works in Spain had to be submitted to the authorities for permission. It is generally known that during Franco’s regime (1939-1975) censorship played a determining role not only in the publication of literary works, but also in the press, cinema, theatre productions and arts in general. Therefore, in order to make any bibliographical study covering post-war years in Spain, it is advisable to look into the effect of censorship on any particular work and/or author.

Several authors have written about the subject of book and press censorship³¹. However, the matter of censorship and foreign literature published in Spain during this historical period is yet to be explored –with few exceptions, if we consider the immense power censors exercised over what could and could not be read. Until recently, only works on particular aspects or authors had been published, thus with a limited scope. No studies had been published in Spain so far regarding Dos Passos and censorship.

³¹ Abellán (1980); Álvarez Palacios (1975); Beneyto (1975); Martínez Cachero (1979)

Rabadán *et al* (2000) carried out an interesting research project³² between 1994 and 2000 that covered the issue of translation and censorship between 1939 and 1985. Although my research dates were outside their research scope,³³ I found their analytical approach useful for my work on *Manhattan Transfer* and censorship. Their work covers an extensive period of time and various genres, including the translation of theatre plays, films and prose fiction, mostly American and British.

I am also indebted to La Prade (1991) and his work *La censura de Hemingway en España* as the starting point of my research in censorship, since it was after reading La Prade's work that I learned about the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares. The Archivo General de la Administración (AGA) keeps all the documentation generated by the various Spanish State Agencies and Government Departments, some of its sources dating as far back as 1711 through to the 1990s. This Archive is part of the Spanish State Archive Network (*Red de Archivos Estatales*) under the custody of the Ministerio de Cultura. The access to these archives is free. My specific search area is kept under the General Administration Archives, Ministerio de Cultura. Archives belonging to this section include documents from 1927-1991. In my initial search regarding censorship files on John Dos Passos, I found there were 111 entries on John Dos Passos between 1946 and 1981. Of them, 24 were related to *Manhattan Transfer*, involving import requests of foreign editions (17), and print requests (12).³⁴

Other researchers have worked on Dos Passos and censorship outside Spain. Lublin-based Irish scholar Robert Looby has recently published a book titled *Censorship*,

³² TRACE, acronym for Traducciones Censuradas (Censored Translations)

³³ The original translation of *Manhattan Transfer* dates from 1929.

³⁴ In Appendix II, details on John Dos Passos's censorship files other than those relating to *Manhattan Transfer* can be found.

Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland (2015), in which he refers to *Manhattan Transfer*. This author mentions a censor's report on the 1958 Polish edition of the novel. He says: "The censor found fault with some parts of Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer*. The review is hand written and hard to read but the censor notes the anti-Semitism of the characters revealed on pages 128-129" (144). However, in this particular instance, the censor's comments did not seem to have an impact on the Polish version (for Looby, the rendering is "attenuated" but "fairly close"). However, looking at other examples in *Manhattan Transfer* of language with derogatory ethnic or religious connotations, Looby goes on to argue that both in pre-war and post-war Polish versions there is what he considers to be a form of self-censoring on the part of the translator. In Looby's view, "in *Manhattan Transfer* derogatory words for black people and Chinese are neutralised, with side effects that go beyond merely decreasing the book's superficial offensiveness, and in fact distort Dos Passos's picture of US society" (145). Looby also mentions a similar translation approach when it comes to the Irish and the Jews. In his opinion, the Polish version shows a "failure to differentiate between a narrator who uses neutral language, and characters who do not" (ibid).

In 2008, Portuguese scholar Miguel de Oliveira published an interesting book on Dos Passos which looked at the American writer being investigated by the FBI on account of his communist connections, titled *Classified and Confidential: File 97-2497, Subject John Dos Passos*. Referring to his work on the matter, Oliveira writes:

To find out whether Dos Passos was still in touch with the country's leftist intelligentsia—and whether he still sympathized with the Communist movement—the FBI gathered information on Dos Passos' political thoughts. A file was opened in which John Dos Passos was considered to be a "Security matter-c"—"c" standing for "Communist." [...]The federal

government often considered Communists to be “un-American” and susceptible to discharge from their employment, arrest, and—in the case of foreign-born U.S. citizens—denaturalization and deportation. (“Classified and Confidential”)

However, the FBI could never find enough proof of Dos Passos’s un-Americanism, nor could his testimonies be used against any of his communist connections. According to Oliveira, “even though ‘Dos Passos agreed to be cooperative,’ he ‘was hazy concerning details,’ an agent wrote, since the famous writer did not want to put any of his friends’ lives in danger.” (ibid)

Oliveira is currently working on a monograph on John Dos Passos and censorship under the administrations of Portuguese dictators Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1932-1968) and Marcello Caetano (1968-1974). According to information provided by Oliveira, there are several records for John Dos Passos, but none of them refer to *Manhattan Transfer*. In his own words:

Concerning the Portuguese records: I could find no censorship report on *Manhattan Transfer* even though it was translated into Portuguese in 1963 (by Alfredo Amorim and published through Portugália Editora in Lisbon). However, this doesn't mean that there is no censorship report, since some 20% of the censorship reports, which were archived at the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon are missing. What happened to them is not really known. They might have been misplaced, destroyed or some private collectors or scholars got hold of them. (Correspondence on censorship)

Portuguese censorship records³⁵ notably resemble the Spanish ones, and seem to be quite similar in content to those kept in the Spanish Archivo General de la Administración (AGA). The AGA keeps two different sets of documentation related to book censorship; one dealing with censored books (Spanish editions of national or foreign authors that were either allowed or banned); and the other, with applications for imported copies of foreign editions. I will now explain in some detail how I proceeded in my research at the AGA and its results.

The results of my search were divided into two different types of applications and replies by the censors: those records or “expedientes” containing the requests for circulation of imported copies (dating from 1962 onwards) and those containing requests for printing them in Spain (the oldest one being from 1948). Each one of them will be dealt with separately in the following sections.

4.5.1. Manhattan Transfer: records for imported copies

The list of applications for books to be imported has a total of 40 entries for John Dos Passos, 17 of which correspond to *Manhattan Transfer*. The list includes the following fields: Author’s name; book title; publisher; importer; file number; date. These import applications are dated between November 11, 1961 and February 21, 1975. In all 17 cases, it is the 1928 Paris edition of Gallimard which is repeatedly requested, but the number of importers are varied. The importers are Charles Roos (1962, 1964); Atheneum (1973); Visor (1965, 1966); Ch. Gómez (1970); Siglo XXI (1969); Anioa D.G. (1968); Edaf (1967, 1973, 1975); Alhambra (1966); Mangold (1973); SGEL (1961, 1973); Polanco (1961); Rodas (1974). There is no reference to the language of the editions.

³⁵ For more information on Portuguese censorship on John Dos Passos please refer to Miguel de Oliveira’s work (currently in progress).

I was unable to find three of the files; perhaps they had been misplaced or destroyed. Each file consists of three different documents: A letter of application addressed to the Director General de Información (documents dated until 1973) or to the Director General de Cultura Popular (after 1973), signed by the importer, requesting for the marketing of specific works in Spain, accompanied by a list of such works; the final document is the official reply to such a request.

The replies are in all cases favourable for *Manhattan Transfer*, although many other works remained forbidden. It is not the subject of this thesis, but I think it may be interesting to note that, as late as 1973, authors like Diderot, Beauvoir, Henry Miller or Kerouac were banned in Spain.

From this our initial search into the circulation of foreign editions of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain I can conclude that between 1962 and 1974 no restrictions were imposed by Government officials.

4.5.2. Records for printing applications and book censorship

Under the heading “censura de libros” or book censorship I found a total of 65 entries for John Dos Passos, referred to as Dos Passos, J.; Dos Passos, John; Dos Passos, Juan and even Dos Passos, Ojhn. For each of the entries the list contains 10 different fields, as follows: book title; author’s name; file; AGA catalogue number; number of copies; entry date; name of censor (in Spanish euphemistically referred to as “lector” or reader); date of resolution; other comments. Unfortunately, some of the fields were blank, i.e. catalogue number (reference to the exact location in the Archives); number of copies; name of censor; comments. Therefore, I was left to work from a list that included the title of the book, author, file number, publisher and dates. The missing information needed further searching.

There were 7 files³⁶ listed for *Manhattan Transfer*, again with inconsistent names: Manhatan transfer or Manhattan transfer (sic). Three of these files that were listed in the computerized database were not in their boxes, but, on the other hand, I found 5 new files that had not been entered into the computer. Finding unlisted files was possible because censors always made reference to the previous reports or “informes” on each particular work (if any); so each file leads you to the previous one, they are all linked.

I will briefly explain about the contents of these files, for those unfamiliar with the system. The files are contained in brown envelopes, sometimes these only include the official/administrative documentation, sometimes also things like book-covers or even the books themselves with the annotations of the readers. Going through all of it is very interesting. But let us describe the type of documents first. On the opening page, a report from the authorities noting whether the work/book has been submitted for inspection before. This page includes the file number, the date in which the work was submitted for inspection, the signature of the chief censor to confirm the content of their records and the censor that is to read the work and report back on its “quality.” As La Prade also points out, the names of the censors are difficult to trace, they are often referred to by numbers or when by name, the handwriting is illegible. The second page is the “Informe” or report in itself. It consists of 6 questions La Prade also mentions (10), and they translate approximately as follows: Is the work against the Dogma? Against the Church? Against the Church Ministers? Against moral principles? Against the Regime and its Institutions? Against the persons that have cooperated with the Regime? Below is a space for further comment. Finally the date and the censor’s signature. The third page of the report or file is the Resolución or pronouncement, stating whether the work can be authorised or not,

³⁶ For copies of the original book censorship files on *Manhattan Transfer* see Appendix I.

and signed by three more officials, the highest in rank being the Director General. All of it duly stamped and dated. There is usually a fourth page stating the number of copies that remain under custody. There may be other documents attached to each file, usually depending on the nature of the request. I will now go through the specific contents of the files that refer to *Manhattan Transfer*.

The oldest file in the censorship records regarding *Manhattan Transfer* is from July 23, 1948. This is in our opinion the most interesting file, since it is the only report that includes exhaustive comments by the censor. I would like to note that it was not included in any of the lists provided by the computerised database. The file consists of an import request for 29 copies of an Argentinian edition of José Robles's translation of *Manhattan Transfer* plus the censor's report, a total of 6 pages. The publisher was Santiago Rueda (Buenos Aires), and the importer's name Iber-Amer Publicaciones Hispanoamericanas S.A. The request was denied. The censor's report which I have translated into English is as follows:

Is the work against the Dogma? Yes. Pages 48, 110, 141

Against the Church? No.

Against the Church Ministers? No.

Against moral principles? Yes. Pages 31, 32, 42, 65, 66, 82, 140, 158, 159, 193, 195, 200, 201, 213, 214, 241, 168, 271, 273, 302, 393, 394.

Against the Regime and its Institutions? No.

Against persons that have co-operated with the Regime? No.

Comments: Novel. It is a novel about New York. The whole book is dominated by immorality. Corrupted morals presented naturally in the everyday life of the city. Abortion, adultery, divorce, sodomy, and a variety of nefarious sins.

The report was signed on August 9, 1948 by censor no. 19, Mr de Lorenzo. The final pronouncement denied authorisation of the novel. It was issued in August 13, 1948. Within the file was a copy of the novel, in which the “immoral” paragraphs had been marked. I have gone through each of the pages and sentences marked by the censor, and here follows a description of their content, some of which I have translated into English. The file consists of six pages, as follows:

Dated on July 23, 1948. (On Official Headed Paper of the Spanish Ministry of National Education “Ministerio de Educación Nacional”, People’s Education Secretariat; Book Inspection Section). It contains the application for the printing of *MANHATTAN TRANSFER* by John Dos Passos, published by Santiago Rueda = IBER_AMER, consisting of 409 pages and for a total of 29 copies. It is signed by the Chief Censor (undated) and below there is a space for “comprobación” or background checks. This space mentions: “Sin Antecedentes”, which meant there were no previous files regarding this work. The valuation of the novel was assigned to Censor number 19, on July 30, 1948.

Page 2: It reads: “as shown in attached document.”

Page 3: Dated on August 13, 1948. It contains the pronouncement in which considering the censor’s report, import permission is denied. Signatures are illegible, and the final signature required corresponding to the General Director of the Section is missing. In his place, a Mr Hierro typed in his name, but did not sign the report. No final date is present either, the space for that information was left blank.

Page 4: Undated. Certification of 5 copies of the work that had to be deposited with the authorities (“Negociado de Circulación”)

Page 5: Dated on July 23, 1948. It contains the application submitted by the publishing house, IBER-AMER, S.A. Publicaciones Hispano-Americanas, and it is addressed to the General Director of Propaganda.

Page 6: Dated on August 13, 1948. It is a copy of the reply by the People's Education Sub-secretariat to the publishing house, signed by the General Director of Propaganda.

Inside the envelope which contained the above documents, there was also a copy of the edition by Rueda of *Manhattan Transfer*, on which the censor had marked all the paragraphs that were cited in his report. Table 2 shows the transcription of the censored passages, the page reference being that of the actual *galerada* or prospective edition that required approval and that is kept at the Archivo together with the files about it. On it, the censor marked or crossed out the type of material which was unacceptable. The following passages were censored on the grounds of morality or because they attacked the dogma of the Catholic Church. The censor found the following pages included content against morality: 31, 32, 42, 65, 66, 82, 140, 158, 159, 193, 195, 200, 201, 213, 214, 241, 268, 271, 273, 302, 393, 394. And the following, against the Catholic dogma: 48, 110, 141. Looking at the censor's marks on the book, it is easy to tell where the censored passage starts, but not where it ends, since he did not always mark it. In Table 3 below the most significant phrases are shown, although not the full text of the controversial parts indicated by the censor. For a better understanding of the censored contents, I have included the English version too. The English original page references are based on the Penguin edition of 1986.

Table 3: Censored passages

| PENGUIN 1987 | PLANETA 1961 |
|--|--|
| Page 30- Say how much does a woman cost in New York? | Page 31- Oye, ¿Cuánto cuesta una mujer en Nueva York? |
| Page 30, 31- And if there was a nice passionate little woman right here now where the deck's warm, wouldn't you like to love her up? [.../...]I dreamed of a little blonde girl. I'd have had her if you hadn't waked me. | Page 32- Y si hubiera ahora aquí una buena hembra cachonda, aquí mismo en la cubierta, ¿no te gustaría revolcarte con ella?.../... Soñaba con una rubia. La hubiera atrapado...si no me despiertas. |
| Page 40- Tas de sacréns cochons...sporca madonna! [.../...]That brunette girl makes eyes at you all night... [.../...] I don't want any of them or their dirty diseases either. | Page 42- Tas de sacréns cochons, ¡madonna!.../... La morena se ha estado timando contigo toda la noche...No quiero nada con ellas ni con sus pueras enfermedades. |
| Page 44- God's on their side, like a policeman...When the day comes we'll kill God...I am an anarchist | Page 48- Dios está de su parte, como un policía...Cuando llegue la hora mataremos a Dios...Yo soy anarquista |
| Page 59- But honest. Georgy, we've got to be careful. You mustn't come here so often. [.../...] I've never done anything like this before [.../...] They clung to each other swaying, mouths furiously mingling [.../...] look out, we almost had the lamp over. | Pages 65/66- Mira, Georgy, tenemos que ser prudentes. No debes venir aquí tan a menudo... Yo no soy un hombre de esos...Se agarraron, vacilantes, sus bocas furiosamente unidas...y la abrazó torpemente, respirando fuerte, como un loco. |
| Page 75- She put her arms round his neck and kissed him hard on the mouth | Page 82- Ella le echó los brazos al cuello y le besó fuerte en la boca |
| Page 99- In ten years a Christian won't be able to make a living...I tell you the Catholics and the Jews are going to run us out of our own country... | Page 110- Dentro de diez años un cristiano ya no podrá ganarse la vida aquí...Le digo que los católicos y los judíos acabarán por echarnos de nuestro país... |

| | |
|--|--|
| Page 125- It's on account of her I have to keep my shades drawn all the time...Why? Oh, you're much too young to know. You'd be shocked, Jimmy. | Page 140- Mire a esa mujer de enfrente. Por causa de ella tengo que dejar los visillos bajados todo el tiempo... ¿por qué? Oh, eres demasiado joven para saber ciertas cosas. Te chocaría, Jimmy. |
| Page 126,127- When he shrugged his shoulders the bathrobe fell away exposing a flat smooth hairless chest. 'You see Mr Oglethorpe and I are going to do the Song of Songs. He weads it and I interpwet it in dancing.../...' 'Thy navel is like a round goblet which wanteth no liquor, thy belly is like a heap of wheat set about with lilies... | Page 141- Al encogerse de hombros la bata se le escurrió, descubriendo un tórax plano, liso, sin pelos. Zabe usted, el señor Oglethorpe y yo vamos a interpretar el Cantar de los Cantares. Él lo lee y yo lo interpreto bailando.../... Tu ombligo es taza torneada, que nunca está falta de bebida, tu vientre como un montón de trigo, cercado de lirios... |
| Page 142- Giggling they sat side by side on the edge of the bed. Through the stuffy smell of the room full of little silky bits of clothing falling off chairs a fading freshness came from a bunch of yellow roses on the bureau. Their arms tightened round each other's shoulders; suddenly he wrenched himself away and leaned over her to kiss her mouth. | Page 158- Sentados sobre el borde de la cama, el uno al lado del otro, reían. En la atmósfera cargada de la alcoba, llena de prendas de seda tiradas sobre las sillas, flotaba la fresca marchita de un ramo de rosas amarillas que había sobre la cómoda. Estaban abrazados. De repente él se desasíó e inclinándose sobre ella la besó en la boca. |
| Page 143- I guess that Western Union burglar knew that...Gosh...Burglary, adultery, sneaking down firescapes, cattreading along gutters. Judas it's a great life. | Page 159- Creo que el ladrón ese lo sabía...Dios...robo, adulterio, escaparse por la escalera de incendios, andar a gatas por los canalones...¡La gran vida! |
| Page 174- I know a woman who'll help you... | Page 193- Conozco a una mujer que te sacará de apuros... |
| Page 175- Please let's go another time. I'm too frightened to go now. My dear child, it's the only thing to do. | Page 195- Por favor dejémoslo para otro día (el aborto) Hija mía, es lo único que se puede hacer |
| Page 180, 181- Slut come here [.../...] My blood will be on your head Elaine forever | Page 200- Ven aquí zorra .../...Mi sangre caerá sobre tu cabeza |
| Page 191- Look at the swell dame...Look at the way she walks...Ain't she a peacherino | Page 213- Fíjate qué socia, qué andares... |

| | |
|--|--|
| Page 193- God I don't see why people have children. ...Procreation is an admission of defeat | Page 214- Yo no sé por qué la gente tiene hijos...la procreación es la confesión de una derrota. |
| Page 215- SLAYS SELF WITH SHOTGUN | Page 241- SE SUICIDA CON UNA ESCOPETA |
| Page 238- Can you understand a woman who wants to be a harlot, a common tart sometimes? | Page 268- ¿Puede usted comprender que una mujer sea una prostituta, una vulgar zorra? |
| Page 241- I'm going to have a baby...Stan's baby | Page 271- Voy a tener un hijo, un hijo de Stan. |
| Page 242,243- NIGHT BELL AND DAY BELL... | Page 273- TIMBRE DE NOCHE Y TIMBRE DE DÍA...hasta el final del capítulo (final segunda parte) Dutch la acercó a sí y sus bocas se juntaron |
| Page 269- 'Hay dere dont you know you cant come out here at night this way?...'[.../...] Let's go to your room | Page 302- ¿Eh, no saben ustedes que no se puede hacer eso aquí de noche?...Vamos a tu cuarto. |
| Page 346- Pull down the shade... | Page 393- baja la cortina... |
| Page 347- cause I take a shine on you and want to give you a good time you call me a goddam whore | Page 394-...porque quiero darte gusto vas y me llamas prostituta |

The table above shows that in the late 40s Spanish censors were reluctant to allow works where sex or religion were talked about explicitly. Themes or opinions that may pass unadverted for many readers today, were seen as evil, “nefandous sins.” Thus, the Spanish reception of *Manhattan Transfer* in post-war years was marked by censorship. It is worth noting that the fact that the novel was banned for a number of years did not have a negative effect on its reception by the Spanish reading public. In 1960, Planeta published the novel in Spain making it available for the first time after the 1930 edition of Cenit. According to La Prade (1991), Planeta became the strongest publisher due to the strength of his chief editor, José Manuel Lara. Not only did he create a true publishing

empire, becoming the first and most popular publisher in the history of Spanish printing tradition, but also managed to get round censors in a way no one had dared before as evidenced in the correspondence he maintained with the Ministerio regarding the applications for publication of previously censored works as Abellán (1980) also holds. There were probably powerful economic reasons for the change, and also an increasing demand from the newly emerging intellectuals who were slowly but gradually trying to recover their freedoms. In the next section I will deal with the socio-political context that made it possible for the Spanish publishing industry to expand and thus, for previously banned works to circulate again.

4.6. Socio-cultural context and publishing trends from the 1960s onwards

Although Franco's regime lasted from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 until his death in 1975, beginning in the late 1950s and clearly in the 1960s there was a gradual relaxation in book censorship, regarding both imported copies of foreign books and translated works of foreign authors that had been previously banned, as in the case of *Manhattan Transfer* which was finally allowed to be re-printed in 1957. The censorship restrictions had affected other Dos Passos's works too. Although it is beyond the scope of this work, and as I have already mentioned, the Spanish Archivo General de la Administración keeps censorship records of several Dos Passos's works, the circulation and/or publishing of which in Spain was not effective until the late 1950s and early 60s.³⁷ A similar case was documented by LaPrade in his books on Hemingway and censorship in Spain, the latest one being *Hemingway prohibido en España* (2011).

³⁷ See Appendix II for Expedientes de Censura de Libros regarding John Dos Passos's works other than *Manhattan Transfer*.

As translation scholar Miguel Ángel Vega noted in his work on the history of translation in Spain in the 20th century, by the time the Spanish Civil War had ended, World War II was beginning, so during the 1940s there was a global decrease in literary output and hence, in the number of translated books in Spain –beyond the limitations imposed by the regime (cf. Vega 535). This scholar refers to the period 1950-1965 as the *nueva ola editorial* or “new publishing wave,” started by new publishing houses that took advantage of the socio-cultural changes that were taking place in Spain, accompanied by a more favourable political context. José Janés, Plaza, Planeta and Bruguera became major publishers of the time and, for the first time after the Civil War, Spanish homes could gradually afford to buy books which were avidly read by the younger generations. Many of these young Spaniards were now able to access higher education after the hard post-war years their parents had had to endure.

Ya avanzada la posguerra, en los años de paulatina apertura y pretendida homologación europea al Régimen, surgen editoriales con vocación de *aggiornamento* de nuestro panorama editorial, con la pretensión de poner al país a la altura de las circunstancias, lo que, por supuesto, representaba una innovación de efectos comerciales indiscutibles. (Vega 541)

In those years, culture and books were highly valued and became a symbol of social status; publishers, among them Planeta, took advantage of this favourable business opportunity and began selling fine hard-back book collections, nicely bound in leather and printed on bible paper. For Vega, “la actividad editorial y traductográfica durante el régimen no puede calificarse negativamene, si tenemos en cuenta [...] que una de las editoriales de mayor volumen económico y, simultáneamente, de mayores rendimientos culturales, la Editorial Planeta, es [...] una creación de la época de Franco” (537).

Founded by José Manuel Lara in 1949, the business vision of this publisher was extraordinary. Taking advantage of the regime's desire to appear modern and open to international influences, Lara managed to publish previously censored authors together with more conservative ones, in an illustrative example of the ideological and business complexity of the Spanish publishing world in those years. For Vega, "la figura de Lara, fallecido en 2003, pone de manifiesto el complicado entramado ideológico del mundo editorial español, pues en esa editorial han convergido plumas de todos los colores políticos e ideológicos" (542). Thus, John Dos Passos re-appeared before the Spanish readership in 1959 in a luxury, three-volume set which included *Manhattan Transfer* (trans. José Robles Pazos), and the *U.S.A* Trilogy under the titles *El Paralelo 42*, *La primera catástrofe (1919)* y *El gran dinero* (trans. by Argentinian writer-journalist Max Dickmann) in Volume I; *Un lugar en la tierra*, *Podría salir bien*, *Tres soldados*, *Primer encuentro* and *Calles de la noche* in Volume II; Finally, *Distrito de Columbia*, *En misión del deber*, *En todos los países* and *Oriente Exprés* were published in the third and final volume of the set, all of them as part of a collection called "Clásicos Contemporáneos." Other authors published under the same collection included Pearl S. Buck, Pierre Loti, Vicki Baum and Daphne du Maurier –all of them bestsellers in Spain in the 1960s. It is interesting to note here that, whereas translation production in the years before the Civil War was mostly from French, German and Russian authors into Spanish, in the 1950s English gained importance (cf. Vega 545).

As historian Francisco Rojas points out, in the late 1950s major socio-economic changes were taking place in Spain; Franco's government realized Spain needed external support from international organizations, and thus started an information and communication campaign in order to improve the image of Spain abroad, most notably

led by ministers of Information and Tourism Gabriel Arias Salgado (1951-1962), and the controversial Manuel Fraga Iribarne (1962-1969), who became well known after the nuclear incident when an American B52 crashed in Palomares, a southern village on the Spanish coast, as he swam in the sea with American ambassador to defuse alarm of contamination. Rojas thus describes this particular political momento and its effect on cultural policies:

Las importantes transformaciones socioeconómicas ocurridas en España crearon un caldo de cultivo esencial para la formación de una serie de plataformas de difusión cultural y política acorde con la nueva realidad del país. Bastó el inicio de un tímido proceso de apertura (más aparente que real) para desencadenar un proceso imparable de cambio cultural. Resulta más que evidente que las reformas impulsadas por Fraga durante los años 60 nunca tuvieron por objetivo establecer una apertura mínimamente real del sistema. Sus medidas, tanto legales como “extralegales” estuvieron siempre encaminadas a ser forma de control sobre la oposición interior y exterior, ofreciendo a su vez una pretendida imagen aperturista del régimen, en la que, precisamente la publicación de ciertas obras de naturaleza cultural y política, jugaría un papel esencial. (Rojas 78-79)

Despite the fact that there were no major political changes, there was a gradual economic liberalization together with a communication campaign that aimed at making the western allies see or believe that Spain was making progress with the times. Furthermore, for Rojas, “resultaba imprescindible contrarrestar las crecientes críticas procedentes del exilio como de la incipiente oposición interior” (60). Between 1945 and 1951 there was no American ambassador to Spain. However, the American

administration considered it was essential to approach Spain for its unique strategical location in the Mediterranean; Franco, in turn, needed to appear more democratic (after the failure to receive American aid under the Marshall Plan in the late 1940s) and become a member of the United Nations (1955). (cf. Twomey 68-70)

It was in this political context that John Dos Passos was recovered by publisher José Manuel Lara for the Spanish public, in quite a different format. This time, it was not the *Manhattan Transfer* of a radical, young promising Dos Passos of 1929 presented by communist publishers of Cenit, in a cheap, paperback edition meant to attract leftist readers. Instead, Planeta moved Dos Passos towards the center of the Spanish politically-correct cultural system of the 1960s, marketed as a classic writer in a luxury format and presenting a respectable, mature writer with an accomplished literary career. The Spanish John Dos Passos of the 1960s and 1970s was void of any overt political connotations as mandated by the circumstances of the time, and the editions of his works were aimed at the growing middle class readership.

4.7. Spanish Civil War literary boom and its effect in current rewritings of *Manhattan Transfer* and John Dos Passos

Through the analysis of the publishing data of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain from 1960 onwards, we can conclude that the novel became a classic in the second half of the 20th Century and has always been available to the Spanish readership, either in the form of hard-back volumes published in collections of international literary classics, or as popular paperbacks.

Planeta's editions and reprints of *Manhattan Transfer* continued to be sold until the 1980s, and other popular publishers made *Manhattan Transfer* available from 1982

onwards, among them Bruguera (1982), Plaza and Janés (1986) and Círculo de Lectores (1989) more often in the form of paperbacks. The most notable feature of the presence of *Manhattan Transfer* in the Spanish cultural system in the last three decades is that in some of the editions, the translation began to be credited to a non-existent José Robles Piquer, first by Bruguera (1984) and later by Círculo (1989; 1995; 2002), Debate (1999), Mediasat (2003), and Debolsillo (2004; 2006; 2009; 2014). In turn, the translations published by Plaza and Janés (1991), Ediciones Diario El País (2003) and Edhasa (2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2011) were all credited to José Robles Pazos. There was even a 1992 edition by Planeta where the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* was credited to Enrique Robles. Plagiarism and unforgivable mistake have been among the reasons given by other scholars in the past³⁸; whatever the reason the fact is that the translations are different in ways that indicate multiple authors.

From the 1990s onwards there have been almost-yearly reprints of *Manhattan Transfer* available, together with a new element in mass media revisitings of the novel – an association between the Spanish Civil War, Dos Passos and José Robles. In the next section I will deal with this aspect in more detail, as part of the present construction of John Dos Passos in Spain.

The Spanish Civil War has been present in the work of numerous writers, from those who witnessed it first hand and wrote novels or memories to narrate their experiences, to modern-day writers. Hundreds of books, both fiction and non fiction have been published on the matter. Some tell personal stories, others revisit the war from a political and/or historical perspective; some are the result of thorough research, while others merely use the Spanish Civil War as a background setting. Whatever the case, the

³⁸ Rabadán, Broncano and Martínez de Pisón have all referred to the translator name change. See Chapter 6.

number of books on the subject is so large, that it can be referred to as a *boom*. In words of historian Pablo Sánchez León, “en los últimos años asistimos a un verdadero ‘boom’ de literatura y otras expresiones artísticas y sociales que tienen como eje común la guerra civil española” (131). Illustrative of this “fashion” is that, since 2000, the 1936 war has been the central theme of more than a hundred books, ten of which have only just been published in 2015. For Sánchez León, “se mantiene, e incluso tal vez crece, una demanda de recuperación de imágenes sobre aquel tiempo y sus vicisitudes” (ibid). Historians such as Paul Preston and Ian Gibson, popular Spanish novelists such as Almudena Grandes, Javier Cercas, Ignacio Martínez de Pisón, Luis García Montero or Antonio Muñoz Molina are among the writers who have recently revisited the Spanish Civil War in their works. The War is naturally also present in History and Literature websites and personal blogs, in documentaries and films, perhaps reflecting a collective need to know more about what our parents and grandparents experienced and suffered first-hand. For Sánchez León, historiography on the Spanish Civil War from the 1990s onwards has been characterized by the idea of analogy between the Second Republic and our present-day democratic system. In his own words: “De hecho, a lo largo de los años noventa, la historiografía de la Guerra Civil española ha tratado con bastante intensidad y recurrencia esta perspectiva que hermana el sistema político de los años treinta con el actual” (123). Another distinctive feature of the way historians and the society in general is now revisiting that period is the interest in the individual stories, “la cuestión del sujeto protagonista de los acontecimientos.” (ibid 124)

John Dos Passos’s involvement in the Spanish Civil War has not escaped this boom; it has not only been recurrently present in accounts of the War but, more significantly for the purpose of my thesis, it has kept *Manhattan Transfer* in a prominent position within our cultural system through the echoes of the story of its translator, José

Robles Pazos. Furthermore, when we look at the presence of John Dos Passos in today's Spanish media, more specifically at his presence in newspapers and the Internet, his name is invariably connected to leftist politics, his political shift being frequently ignored.

An example of this can be found in a piece on *Manhattan Transfer* by Spanish writer Almudena Grandes. In 2003, Grandes wrote a warm appraisal of the novel, mostly in literary terms. Regarding Dos Passos's politics, she mentions that John Dos Passos was a leftist writer: "*Manhattan Transfer* encierra también la imagen de una Nueva York que pudo ser y nunca fue. Las profundas convicciones izquierdistas de su autor alientan en la descripción de las tensiones sociales..." (*El País*, Cultura 23/10/03), but no reference is made to further developments into conservative politics later in his life.

A similar argument is presented by journalist and literary critic Andrés Padilla in the same newspaper: "Dos Passos es uno de los integrantes esenciales de lo que se llamó la generación perdida, grupo de escritores con una notable conciencia crítica sobre el sistema capitalista en el que se basa la sociedad estadounidense." (ibid)

As can be seen from the above excerpt, Padilla —just like most Spanish critics— refers to *Manhattan Transfer* as the most important work by Dos Passos ("obra cumbre") and highlights his criticism of the capitalist system in which the American society is based. The fact that both pieces were written to promote the sales of *Manhattan Transfer* as part of a collection of 20th Century classics will probably have influenced their authors in their choice of arguments.

In his review for *El País* upon the publication of *Viajes de entreguerras* (2005) by Península, in a translation by Juan Gabriel Vázquez, critic Antonio Elorza referred to the unusual role that Dos Passos had played in Spanish politics. Elorza gives an account of

the encounter in 1919³⁹ between Russian activist under the pseudonym of “Borodin” and Dos Passos at the Ateneo de Madrid, a cultural centre frequented by the cultural and social elite of the time:

El escritor norteamericano John Dos Passos desempeñó un curioso papel en la historia política española. Cuando en 1919 el emisario soviético de seudónimo Borodin buscaba a ciegas alguien que estuviera dispuesto a la labor de fundar un partido comunista en España, se dirigió al Ateneo de Madrid, muy próximo al hotel Palace en el que residía, y en su sala de lectura la primera persona con la que tropezó fue precisamente Dos Passos, quien le dirigió a otro lector, el socialista Fernando de los Ríos, el cual a su vez, obviamente poco interesado en el proyecto, le señaló al hombre adecuado para la tarea. (“La España de John Dos Passos”)

Elorza goes on to note that years later, during the Second Republic, Dos Passos article titled “Doves in the Bull Ring” (“Palomas en el ruedo”) appeared in Ramón J. Sender’s communist paper *La Lucha*, in which Dos Passos reflected on the social tensions during a socialist meeting at the Santander bull ring in the company of Fernando de los Ríos during his visit to Spain in 1933. (cf. *ibid*)

Examples of political interpretations of John Dos Passos’s search for José Robles during the Spanish Civil War are numerous in the Spanish press, frequently echoing the work of historians or writers who have dealt with the matter. The impact of two of these has been more frequently present in the media in the last decade: Ignacio Martínez de Pisón’s book *Enterrar a los muertos* (2005) and, more recently, Sonia Tercero’s

³⁹ After his first stay in Spain in 1916-17; Dos Passos returned and stayed between August 1919 to April 1920, when he completed *Three Soldiers* (cf. Pizer, *Toward a Modernist Style* 14).

documentary film Robles, *Duelo al Sol* (2015). I will deal with each of them in the following paragraphs.

Martínez de Pisón's book was published ten years ago by Seix Barral, and is still available. The book was translated into English, French, German, Italian and Portuguese. Although some people have said that Martínez de Pisón's *Enterrar a los muertos* may have been inspired by Stephen Koch's *The Breaking Point: Hemingway, Dos Passos and the Murder of José Robles*, the fact is that the former was published in February 2005, a couple of months earlier than Stephen Koch's in the United States; both books deal with the same events but in quite a different tone and from different perspectives —Koch's book reads like historical fiction and focuses on the idea of Hemingway's political falseness— and both have successfully contributed to the revisiting of John Dos Passos.

In her review of *Enterrar a los Muertos*, Spanish writer Rosa Montero wrote for *El País* that this book should be compulsory reading in every Spanish school, as it is a lesson on the evils of blind partisanship, what she calls “trampas criminales del dogmatismo.” In her conviction that killings or torture can never be justified on ideological grounds, she writes:

En 1937, Dos Passos vino a España e intentó descubrir su paradero [de Robles]. Pero chocó contra un siniestro muro de luchas de poder, de dogmatismo, mentiras, purgas, asesinatos, silencio cómplice o cobarde. Cuánta miseria moral hubo también en la España republicana (el horror de la represión franquista aparece igualmente en el libro, pero es más conocido). (“Robles”)

Martínez de Pisón's book has generally been positively reviewed, although one particular aspect, his portrayal of Alberti, arose some criticism by writer and journalist

Benjamín Prado; the controversy is about the passage in which Martínez de Pisón mentions the accusation, in 1977, by writer and surrealist artist Eugenio Fernández Granell for not having denounced the numerous killings by the Stalinists, among them professor Robles's, "poeta y dibujante, a manos de los generales rusos." (qtd. in Martínez de Pisón 33) According to Martínez de Pisón, by keeping silent about such things Alberti had become a communist star (cf. *ibid.*). P A regular at the Madrid tertulias with the Robles and other writers and intellectuals of the time, such as León Felipe or Valle-Inclán, Alberti was the son of wealthy sherry traders and as such —Azcárate recalls— before the war he used to live in an elegant apartment in Lagasca street, and dressed impeccably like a dandy or "señorito." In the summer of 1936 —the war had just broken out—, the Robles were very surprised when Alberti came to visit them at the Madrid flat where they used to stay over the summer periods with quite a different outfit from the usual in him, transformed into a "miliciano", fully equipped with "gorra, mono y alpargatas." This happened in times when the way you dressed could mean the difference between life and death, "el aspecto personal y la indumentaria delataba la clase social a la que se pertenecía, y a veces con gravísimas consecuencias, ya que "parecer" burgués por la indumentaria o la fisionomía podía acarrearle a uno la muerte, y "parecer" obrero o campesino lo mismo" (Trapiello, "Una fotografía"). Months later, when Pepe Robles went missing, despite their mutual friendship and his communist connections, together with the fact that he was living in Valencia at the time of Robles's disappearance, no help came from him, nor from their editor at *Cenit*, Wenceslao Roces⁴⁰, whom Azcárate referred to as a close friend —"un amigo íntimo"— of Pepe's. According to Miggie Robles, Roces did nothing to help in his position as

⁴⁰ For Trapiello, Wenceslao Roces was "un hombre oscuro al servicio del NKVD soviético, uno de esos funcionarios que parecen combinar impávidos en la sombra toda clase de crímenes de guante blanco." (Clarín, "Una fotografía")

Subsecretario de Educación of the Republican Administration during the War; “se portó horriblemente mal, no quiso saber nada de ellos,” says Azcárate. Years later, when Rocés went to exile in Mexico,⁴¹ like Márgara did, she never talked to him again, “no tuvieron trato” (Conversation with Azcárate). It seems Márgara, or Margarita Villegas *de Robles*,⁴² as she would sign her translations in exile thereafter, could never forgive them.

Prado, as a disciple of Alberti and his personal friend, disliked the way in which Alberti was criticized, and thought it was unfair:

Es un libro absorbente, hermoso e intenso el de Pisón, a veces apasionado hasta la injusticia [...] si a Alberti lo culpamos de la muerte de Robles por no hacer lo suficiente para salvarlo [...] ¿a cuántos culpamos de la de Lorca o Miguel Hernández? (Prado, “Caso abierto” 1)

As Prado himself complained in 2010, this tendency to “unfairly” depict Alberti as an opportunistic communist is shared by other present-day writers who have dealt with this period, such as Andrés Trapiello, José Luis Ferris or Eutimio Martín, among others. (cf. “A la caza del poeta rojo”).

Since 2014, Sonia Tercero’s work on the documentary *Robles, Duelo al Sol* has brought a renewed interest for Dos Passos in Spain and *Manhattan Transfer*. The film is built on Tercero’s research work and the contributions of major writers, historians and academics, as well as friends and relatives of the protagonists: John Dos Passos and José Robles. Among the most relevant contributors are Martínez de Pisón, historian Paul

⁴¹ Both Wenceslao Rocés and Rafael Jiménez Siles, editors of *Cenit* and friends of the Robles up until Pepe’s execution, went to exile in México. While Rocés taught at various Mexican universities, Jiménez Siles owned a bookshop, *La Pérgola*, and took an active part in the cultural life of Spanish intellectuals in exile. (Conversation with Azcárate).

⁴² Márgara continued to work as a translator in México, mostly for the Fondo de Cultura Económica, but also for Séneca, a publishing house led by poet José Bergamín, among others. After leaving Spain for Paris, and then briefly to the U.S. to recover from Pepe’s life insurance, she moved to Mexico to join her sister, Amparo Villegas, whose career as an actress had begun in Spain before the war, and continued successfully in her Mexican exile. Margara’s Spanish friends in exile included writer León Felipe and historian Juan Marichal. (ibid)

Preston, Lucy Dos Passos and her son, John Coggin, Luis de Azcárate and Carmen Robles, daughter of Ramón Robles.

Much of Sonia Tercero's overview is based on Dos Passos's writings and on what has already been written on Robles's case, but the inclusion of the testimonies of Dos Passos's closest relatives —particularly her daughter's, Lucy— gives the story a new, interesting angle. On the other hand, Paul Preston gives a slightly dissenting note from the widespread opinion regarding the reasons for Robles's execution. As Preston has also written in his book *We Saw Spain Die* (2009), from his point of view the most likely reason for Robles's arrest and later execution was that he had used his influence to help his brother Ramón (an army officer who had supported Alfonso XIII, and later Franco's cause against the Republic) in his way out of prison during the war, under the promise that he would join the Republican army- which Ramón never did. Something else the documentary does not explicitly mention, but Preston does in his book, is that according to José Nieto⁴³, a Spaniard who met Dos Pasos during the 1964 Senator Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign, Dos Passos had confided to him that "Robles had been arrested with an envelope containing sensitive information about Russian aid to the Republic that he was about to give to the fifth column" (*We Saw Spain Die* 92). Were this to be true, it would turn Robles's case and John Dos Passos's cause into quite different stories, but it has not been proved and is based just on hearsay evidence; for Luis de Azcárate, Preston's contention is purely slander and insits on the Robles's family deep Republican convictions before and after Pepe's death. (Conversation with Azcárate). The fact that Ramon's daughter, Carmen, mentions in the documentary that his uncle Pepe's name could never be pronounced at her

⁴³ Preston mentions the name of this person, Nieto, in footnote 74 of Capter 3 of his book (379).

parents' home, gives an idea of the distress that the whole matter had caused in the family circle.

Regarding the media coverage of Sonia Tercero's film, the news on the documentary has spread fast. Barely six months after its premiere in the Malaga Film Festival in April 2015 and some screenings in Madrid and Valencia, a google search with the title of this documentary as of December 2015 throws 1,360 results, of which 700 also mention John Dos Passos, and of these, 247 mention *Manhattan Transfer*. *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC* and the Spanish edition of *The Huffington Post* have all published news reports on the documentary in the last months, reinforcing John Dos Passos's presence in our cultural system. The fact that Spanish public television, Radio Televisión Española, and literary agency Dos Passos participated in the making of the documentary have contributed to the publicity of the film. The lengthiest piece on the matter was published in the literary supplement "Babelia" of *El País*, with the publication of an article by John Dos Passos Coggin titled "Frondosa Tierra de Toros y Chocolate" in which Coggin —after his stay in Madrid for the filming of *Robles*— elaborated on the reasons that brought his grandfather to Spain and the aspects of our country that most inspired him.

From the nature of the critical reception of John Dos Passos in the last few years, we can conclude that there has been less scholarly interest in his works from a strictly literary perspective, and that political readings of the writer are currently dominating what is written about him. At the same time, he is among the most popular American writers of his generation and his books continue to be available in recent editions. John Dos Passos's image in Spain is as positive as ever.

Translation is interesting because it offers first-hand evidence of the prejudice of perception. If translation were a matter of technical code switching only, it would be as exciting as a photocopier. (Hermans)

Translations create an image of their source, and that image is always slanted, manipulated” (Lefevere)

All translation is, and must be, the restitution of meaning (Berman).

CHAPTER 5

TRANSLATION APPROACHES IN MANHATTAN TRANSFER

5.1. Previous scholarly research on the translations of *Manhattan Transfer*

Despite the fact that José Robles Pazos is probably one of the most often-mentioned translators in the Spanish cultural system for the reasons already mentioned in previous chapters, limited attention has been paid to the actual nature of his work as a translator. As seen in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Francisco Ayala had referred to the difficulties of the enterprise in his review in *Revista de Occidente* upon the 1929 publication of José Robles's translation. Carlos Fuentes, an admirer of John Dos Passos's writing techniques, also referred to the challenges posed by the translation, particularly those connected to the "lenguaje migratorio" of its characters.

In facing this translation challenge, however, José Robles had a couple of cards up his sleeve; he was living in the United States, therefore familiarity with American cultural references and localisms should not have been a problem; he was a friend of Dos Passos which probably meant he could turn to him when he felt it was necessary, and he was close to Maurice Coindreau, who had started to work on the French version of *Manhattan Transfer* shortly after its publication. Martínez de Pisón mentions his relationship with Coindreau and their visits to Dos Passos as the likely starting point for *Manhattan Transfer*'s translation into Spanish by Robles:

En ese apartamento [Dos Passos's] coincidían a veces con Maurice Coindreau, que al poco de la publicación de *Manhattan Transfer* estaba ya trabajando en su traducción y se acercaba con frecuencia a Nueva York para consultar sus dudas con el autor. No es aventurado suponer que fue durante alguno de esos encuentros cuando Pepe y Mágina concibieron la idea de traducir sus libros al español. A finales de la década consagraron parte de su tiempo a esa labor. Mientras Pepe trabajaba en la versión de *Manhattan Transfer*, su novela más emblemática, Mágina lo hacía en la de *Rocinante vuelve al camino*, recopilación de textos en los que el norteamericano recreaba sus primeros viajes por España. (17)

Apart from Rabadán's brief references to the novel in her book *Equivalencia Traslémica y Traducción*, where she used some examples taken from Robles's translation and referred to the translator name change as a case of plagiarism (cf. 170), two scholarly articles have been published on *Manhattan Transfer* and translation -the first one by Manuel Broncano Rodríguez in 1992, and the second one by Francisco José Zamora-Salamanca in 2003.

In his article published in *Livius*, Broncano compared Robles's work as the translator of *Manhattan Transfer* in 1929 and of *Babbitt* in 1930. The article, titled "José Robles Pazos: primer traductor de Dos Passos y Lewis," is both a critical approach to some aspects of José Robles as a translator and a homage to José Robles, "introducción en España de John Dos Passos y Sinclair Lewis, traductor honesto —si no perfecto— y honesto republicano." (241)

The article opens with a brief biographical note of José Robles, in which Broncano acknowledges professor Juan José Coy's 1989 article "¿Quién mató a José Robles

Pazos?” and Ludington’s biography of John Dos Passos. Robles is portrayed by Broncano as a sympathizer of the Spanish Republic with an enigmatic fate, after his arrest and eventual killing presumably at the hands of the communists during the war: “...este traductor que fuera asesinado por orden del Partido Comunista debido a su, sin duda, profundo conocimiento de las maniobras que este partido realizaba en la trastienda de la guerra contra sus propios compañeros de lucha, principalmente los anarquistas” (Broncano 233). The portrait is completed with a summary of Ludington’s account of the Dos Passos-Robles long friendship dating back to 1916 when Robles was still a student at the Universidad de Madrid, plus brief reference to the rupture between Dos Passos and Hemingway over serious disagreement on Robles’s case. (cf. *ibid* 234-235)

The central part of the article offers an overview of Robles’s translations of *Manhattan Transfer* (1929) and *Babbitt* (1930), respectively. For Broncano, one of the most noticeable characteristics of José Robles’s translation is the abundance of words — sometimes even whole phrases— that were left in English in the target text, and in his opinion, this did not precisely happen because of the “untranslatability” of such words; thus, at times the English word in the Spanish target text has been either left unmarked, as in the case of the word “Jacks” (Broncano 236); at times these have been marked in italics, as in the case of “*jackstones*” (*ibid*); or marked by the use of inverted commas, as in the case of “ferry” (*ibid*); sometimes accompanied by an explanatory footnote, sometimes not. (cf. Broncano 236-237). In my opinion, these inconsistencies may be explained by lack of time for a thoroughly revised translation, since it was probably completed in less than six months (Cenit started operating in January 1929 and *Manhattan Transfer* was published in June that same year). Another likely reason may have been the potential, random influence of other translators’ and/or proof readers’

criteria, such as Maurice Coindreau's and/or Robles's wife, Mrgara Villegas, both professional translators and closely connected to Robles. One can easily imagine them discussing translation strategies as close friends in the case of Coindreau, and, in the case of Mrgara and Pepe, as husband and wife who shared a common interest in translation.

Broncano argues that one of the most remarkable inconsistencies in Robles's translation approach can be found in the various instances where references to U.S. coins are present. Robles at times uses the English words 'nickel,' 'dime,' 'quarter,' either in italics or with inverted commas, whereas at other points *nickel* becomes "niquel" in the target text accompanied by a footnote (Robles Pazos 26); finally, there are instances where Robles translates the names of the coins into Spanish as "cinco, diez o veinticinco centavos." (Broncano 237). For Broncano "las razones [...] que le llevan a recurrir de forma abundante, aunque no sistemtica, a la reproduccin del TO en el TM parecen oscuras e injustificadas, sobre todo cuando demuestra en otras situaciones un buen dominio de los recursos de traduccin" (ibid 238). In his assessment, Broncano praises Robles's efforts to maintain linguistic and meta-linguistic features of the original in the translation, and gives a couple of examples of how colloquial language or characteristic sociolects have been rendered into Spanish (cf. 238-9). However, again inconsistencies are present: "En otras ocasiones, no obstante, el autor se limita a desnudar el dilogo de toda marca dialectal, reproducindolo en castellano neutro, lo que priva al lector de un rasgo caracterizador importante, aunque difcil —y, en ocasiones imposible— de traducir." (ibid 239)

Regarding the translation of Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt*, Broncano notices similar inconsistencies in translation strategies, as illustrated by the use of English words in the target text, often insufficiently supported by footnotes. Whereas the translation difficulties

of *Babbitt* are hardly comparable to those in *Manhattan Transfer*, Broncano praises Robles's attempts to render the peculiar characters' dialects and pseudo-dialects in his translation (cf. 240). In his conclusions, Broncano claims for revised translations of both novels based on the obsolescence of many of the colloquial expressions used and in the abuse of anglicisms observed (cf. 241). Broncano mentions both strengths and weaknesses in José Robles Pazos as a translator, but the weaknesses he observed —the abundance of untranslated words together with the inconsistent use of inverted commas, italics and footnotes— seemed to weigh more in his overall assessment. In his own words: "...la permanencia de términos sin traducir no se puede achacar a la impericia del traductor, sino más bien a la ausencia de una conciencia purista del idioma que lleva a éste al abuso de anglicismos, en su mayor parte innecesarios. Juzgada con criterios actuales, esta tendencia es claramente inadmisibles" (ibid 240). Broncano's is an interesting study and he is right to have noticed inconsistencies in the translation approach to certain cultural elements; however, from my point of view the use of anglicisms in the translation is not necessarily the wrong strategy in every case. Although Broncano seems to prefer the naturalization of the foreign element, this is a strategy which at times —in Berman's terms— may deform the translated text.⁴⁴

The other scholarly article dealing with the work of José Robles Pazos's translation of *Manhattan Transfer* is Zamora-Salamanca's case-study of linguistic planification and translation. The article, entitled "Planificación lingüística y traducción en español: José Robles Pazos y Max Dickman" associates the concept of linguistic planification and translation through the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*, by José Robles, and *The 42nd Parallel* by Max Dickmann. Both translators are presented in

⁴⁴ See Chapter 1, "The negative analytic in translation."

this article as linguistic mediators between American culture (through the works of John Dos Passos), and the Spanish and Latin-American readerships respectively. The first part of the article deals with historical and bibliographical data of the two translators, noting the major role that Cenit in Spain and Santiago Rueda in Argentina played in the dissemination of foreign works (cf. Zamora 468-474). Regarding the translation of *Manhattan Transfer*, Zamora highlights the role played by Robles as a translator (and his French counterpart, Coindreau) in rendering New York's migratory languages and slang into Spanish (and French, respectively); what he refers to—in Mencken's terms—as “el vulgar americano” (cf. *ibid* 474). He gives eight examples of colloquial language in the source text in English, and then briefly comments on some of the Spanish renderings (cf. *ibid* 475-476). Zamora quite rightly notes Robles's introduction of typically Spanish discourse markers in dialogues:

Llama la atención la traducción que hace Robles Pazos de la frase original “I guess that bloat believes in savin” [...by...] “Nada, que este tío cree en el ahorro” [...] En ella aparece un marcador del discurso (*nada*), característico del español hablado que aporta un matiz conclusivo a la oración que sigue.” (476)

Zamora concludes his article with a reflection on how both translations have fared through time. Whereas for him Robles Pazos's translation of *Manhattan Transfer* has stood the passage of time successfully, Max Dickman's did not, and refers here to a new translation of *The 42nd Parallel* by Marcelo Cohen, in 1982⁴⁵ (cf. *ibid* 478). Again, Zamora's view is that the successive editions of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain through time have included only minor changes —“con ciertas modificaciones de detalle” (*ibid*).

⁴⁵⁴⁵ Dos Passos, John [trad. Marcelo Cohen] *El Paralelo 42*. Barcelona: Bruguera 1982.

This, as we have seen, has been a commonly shared opinion to date. I will provide arguments to challenge this idea in the following pages.

In the course of my research, the study of the publishing history of the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*, together with the analysis of the sociocultural contexts in which our reception of the novel has taken place through time, have provided some interesting elements for further analysis that require a closer analysis from a translational perspective. I am referring here, in the first place, to the analysis of whether censorship had any effect on the actual text of the Spanish translation authorized by censors during Franco's regime. Secondly, to the question of various translators, in order to illustrate that there are different translation voices in the various editions under study beyond the translator name-changes. Finally, to the analysis of translation approaches and strategies used in the two translations available to present-day Spanish readers, comparing them with Robles's 1929 version, as to how the challenge of rendering the peculiarities of John Dos Passos's poetics and universe of discourse into Spanish has been faced.

5.2. Analysis of censored passages

As argued in earlier pages, one of the peculiarities of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain is the fact that it was banned by Franco's censors until 1957, the earliest existing record referring to a publishing application dating from 1948. I have dealt with the content of the censorship files at length, but it is interesting to take a closer look at the actual translation of censored passages, in order to determine whether censorship had had any mutilating effect on the editions of the novel published under Franco, as was the case, for example, with some of Hemingway's works. (cf. La Prade, *Hemingway prohibido*)

For the purpose of this analysis, I compared the original translation by José Robles Pazos published by Cenit in 1930 with those published after the Spanish Civil War, and more particularly with Planeta's edition —also credited to José Robles Pazos— of 1961. My interest then turned to the actual analysis of Robles Pazos's translation of the censored passages, if there were traces of the translator's own ideology having a self-censoring effect as that noted by Looby in the Polish case (cf. *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction*) and finally, whether those officially censored passages had suffered any variations in recent Spanish editions. Regarding the scope of the analysis, I focused on those segments where I found translation issues worth mentioning.

Very slight differences regarding sensitive themes have been found in the fragments under analysis in the two editions, which are the same as those shown in Table 3 of Chapter 4. In the section devoted to the study of *Manhattan Transfer* and censorship, we saw that when the novel was finally authorized in Spain in 1957, the censor simply wrote “puede autorizarse” (“it may be authorized”), and no reference was made to required alterations or deletions. This may be an indication that it was the editors in Planeta who self-censored some of the frank language and irreverent references prior to submission for inspection, so that the censor's report might be more likely a positive one.

In Table 4 on the next page, I have included those censored passages in which I have noticed discrepancies between the 1929 and 1961 target texts.

Table 4-Contrastive analysis of censored passages (1929 edition-1961 edition)

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | PLANETA 1961 |
|--|--|---|
| Page 30, 31- And if there was a nice passionate little woman right here now where the deck's warm, wouldn't you like to love her up? [.../.../...]I dreamed of a little blonde girl. I'd have had her if you hadn't waked me. | Page 30- Y si hubiera ahora aquí una buena hembra, cachonda, aquí mismo en la cubierta, ¿no te gustaría revolcarte con ella?.../.../... Soñaba con una rubia. La hubiera atrapado...si no me despiertas. | Page 43- Y si hubiera ahora aquí una buena hembra, aquí mismo en la cubierta..../.../...Soñaba con una rubia. La hubiera cogido...si no me despiertas. |
| Page 40- Tas de sacréns cochons...sporca madonna! [.../.../...]That brunette girl makes eyes at you all night... [.../.../...] I don't want any of them or their dirty diseases either. | Page 41 – Tas de sacréns cochons, ¡sporca madonna!.../.../... La morena se ha estado timando contigo toda la noche...No quiero nada con ellas ni con sus pueras enfermedades. | Page 53- <i>Tas de sacréns cochons, sporca madonna!.../.../...</i> La morena se ha estado timando contigo toda la noche...No quiero nada con ellas ni con sus sucias enfermedades. |
| Page 44- God's on their side, like a policeman...When the day comes we'll kill God...I am an anarchist | Page 47-Dios está de su parte, como un policía...Cuando llegue la hora mataremos a Dios...Yo soy anarquista | Page 59- Cuando llegue la hora...Yo soy anarquista |
| Page 59- But honest. Georgy, we've got to be careful. You mustn't come here so often. [.../.../...] I've never done anything like this before [.../.../...] They clung to each other swaying, mouths furiously mingling [.../.../...] look out, we almost had the lamp over. | Page 66- Mira, Georgy, tenemos que ser prudentes. No debes venir aquí tan a menudo... Yo no soy un hombre de esos...Se agarraron, vacilantes, sus bocas furiosamente unidas...y la abrazó torpemente, respirando fuerte, como un loco. | Page 77- Mira, Georgy, debemos de ser prudentes. No debes venir aquí tan a menudo... Yo no soy un hombre de esos...Se agarraron, vacilantes, sus bocas furiosamente unidas...y la abrazó torpemente, respirando fuerte, como un loco. |
| Page 75- She put her arms round his neck and kissed him hard on the mouth | Page 84- Ella le echó los brazos al cuello y le besó fuerte en la boca | Page 94- Ella le echó los brazos al cuello y le besó en la boca |
| Page 143-I guess that Western Union burglar knew that...Gosh...Burglary, adultery, sneaking down firescapes, cattreading along gutters. Judas it's a great life. | Page 159- Creo que el ladrón ese lo sabía...Dios...robo, adulterio, escaparse por la escalera de incendios, andar a gatas por los canalones... ¡La gran vida! | Page 169- Creo que el ladrón ese lo sabía...Dios...robo, adulterio, escaparse por la escalera de incendios, andar a gatas por los canalones... ¡La gran vida! |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Page 191- Look at the swell dame...Look at the way she walks...Ain't she a peacherino? That's the way I like 'em, all slick and frilly with their lips made up...Takes jack to go round with dames like that. | Page 225-226 Fíjese qué socia...¡vaya unos andares! ¡Qué rica está! Así me gustan a mí, muy requetecompuestas, con mucha coba y con los labios pintaos...Pero cuestan un ojo de la cara estas fulanas. | Page 222- Fíjate qué socia...¡vaya unos andares! ¡Qué rica está! Así me gustan a mí, muy requetecompuestas, con mucho maquillaje y con los labios pintados...Pero cuestan un ojo de la cara estas fulanas. |
|---|--|--|

In the above examples we can see that there are some instances where allusions to religion or explicit sex were censored in the 1961 version. However, regarding the integrity of those sensitive paragraphs in later editions, we found that no alterations or mutilations had been made.

If we consider the length and content of censored passages shown in Table 3 (pp), it can be concluded that Franco's censors had a small impact on the novel, and few alterations were made. This happened even though some of the language makes explicit references to adultery, abortion, suicide –topics that were still taboo in those years in Spain. An example of a passage with sensitive content that was not censored can be found when Ellaine and her friend Cassie are discussing abortion (Dos Passos, *Manhattan Transfer* 174). No censorship signs have been found in the Spanish translations of the passage.

Table 5: Examples of non-censored fragments in the 1961 edition

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | PLANETA 1961 |
|---|---|---|
| Page 174- I know a woman who'll help you... | Page 204- Conozco a una mujer que te sacará de apuros... | Page 202- Conozco a una mujer que te sacará de apuros... |
| Page 175- Please let's go another time. I'm too frightened to go now..../...My dear child, it's the only thing to do. | Page 205- Por favor dejémoslo para otro día [el aborto] .../...Hija mía, es lo único que se puede hacer | Page 204- Por favor dejémoslo para otro día [el aborto] .../...Hija mía, es lo único que se puede hacer |

Some alterations might have been expected in the above paragraphs in the 1961 edition by Planeta, whether by censors or by the publishers themselves in fear of finding difficulties with the authorities under Franco's regime if such explicit reference to abortion was made. However, we found Robles Pazos's text had been respected as far as the integrity of the previously censored passages was concerned.

Regarding passages where reference is made to religion, we find another instance of a deliberate omission in the 1961 edition by Planeta. One of the characters, an anarchist, is lamenting social inequalities and says "*God's on their side, like a policeman...When the day comes we'll kill God...I am an anarchist.*" The 1961 Spanish version simply says "*cuando llegue la hora...yo soy anarquista*" or "*When the day comes...I'm an anarchist.*" Once more, these two important deleted segments reappear in present-day editions.

Next I would like to focus on some of the linguistic aspects of the translation of these passages which made *Manhattan Transfer* be banned for some years. Let us begin with the first few fragments that had been marked as "immoral" by the censors. The scene is set in Chapter 2, "Metropolis." The censored scene begins with a conversation between

two French sailors, Congo and Emile, who are lying on the deck of a boat in New York City harbour. They are day-dreaming and talking about their expectations of the city. At one point in their conversation, one of them says: “*And if there was a nice passionate little woman right here now where the deck’s warm, wouldn’t you like to love her up?*” (Dos Passos 30). Robles Pazos’s translation option is as follows: “*Y si hubiera ahora aquí una buena hembra cachonda, aquí mismo en la cubierta, ¿no te gustaría revolcarte con ella?*” (32). If we read the Spanish translation compared with the original English text, both meaning and tone are adequately rendered. However, the Spanish version makes no reference to the deck being “warm”, which is an element that adds up to the sensuality of the sailor’s thoughts. Instead, Robles Pazos chose to use the expression “buena hembra cachonda” which is more sexually explicit than “nice passionate little woman” and has a lower register than the English original. In the following sentence, the sailor says he was dreaming of a “little blonde girl”, which becomes just “a blonde” (una rubia) in Robles Pazos’s version, more idiomatic in Spanish but failing to render the sense of “little...girl”, in what may be a case of the translator’s ideology or morals consciously or unconsciously mitigating the Spanish rendering to avoid the image of “*the little blonde girl*” being perhaps a pre-pubescent girl. The 1961 version omitted the words “cachonda” (“hot”), plus the final sentence “*¿no te gustaría revolcarte con ella?*” although these reappear in current available editions.

In the following passage, the sentence “*...that brunette girl makes eyes at you all night*” was translated by Robles Pazos as “*se ha estado timando contigo toda la noche.*” The Spanish verb *timar* has various different meanings, and one of them is precisely “to make eyes at someone.” However, it is very rarely used nowadays in this sense. I checked whether the two latest editions of the novel had changed the wording of this sentence, but they had not. Although I think it is a good translation option, there would perhaps be

other possibilities such as “lanzando miraditas” or “echándote el ojo,” which are more commonly used today. I find this is an instance of an outdated rendering of colloquial language.

In Chapter I of the Second Section of the book, “Great Lady on a White Horse,” we find one of the central characters of the novel, Jimmy Herf, visiting Ruth, a girlfriend who lives in a rented room. They also meet Cassandra Wilkins, who wants to become a dancer and cannot pronounce the letter “r.” While waiting for her to get ready to go out for brunch, they have a conversation about Ruth’s various neighbours, among them “the lady across the airshaft” nicknamed Sappo the Monk, about whom Ruth says: “It’s on account of her I have to keep my shades drawn all the time...Why? Oh, you’re much too young to know. You’d be shocked, Jimmy.” (Dos Passos 1987:125). The “lady across the airshaft,” or “la señora de enfrente” in all the Spanish versions, seems to like watching the girls through the window across the airshaft, this is why Ruth likes to keep her shades down. When Jimmy asks why she does that, Ruth says he is too young and he’d be shocked to find out, probably referring to the woman being some kind of voyeur. I have found no alterations or mutilations in the two Spanish texts under comparison in this case. Regarding the linguistic aspects of the translation, the expression “*te chocaría*” (meaning, colloquially, “surprised” or “amazed”) for “*you’d be shocked*” is, in our opinion, less expressive than the English original and somehow diminishes the degree of “shock” that the scene entails.

From this analysis of censored passages I can conclude that censorship had a small impact on the integrity of the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*, the 1961 version being the only one that shows slight mutilations, related to religion or sex. It must be mentioned that the changes observed support our thesis that there are various translations of *Manhattan Transfer* available to Spanish readers, as I will argue in more

detail in the following section.

5.3. Various translations or just one?

As shown by the bibliographical data on the Spanish editions of *Manhattan Transfer*, to date there have been twenty-eight editions of *Manhattan Transfer* between 1929 and 2014, but in eleven of them, from 1984 onwards, the translation is not credited to José Robles Pazos, but to a non-existent José Robles Piquer.

Planeta's editions and reprints of *Manhattan Transfer* continued to be available for the Spanish readership until the 1980s, but other popular publishers made *Manhattan Transfer* available from 1982 onwards (more often in the form of paperbacks), among them Bruguera (1982), Plaza and Janés (1986) and Círculo de Lectores (1989). The most notable feature of the presence of *Manhattan Transfer* in the Spanish cultural system in the last three decades is that in some of the editions, the translation began to be credited to a non-existent José Robles Piquer, first by Bruguera (1984) and later by Círculo (1989; 1995; 2002), Debate (1999), Mediasat (2003), and Debolsillo (2004; 2006; 2009; 2014). In turn, the translations published by Plaza and Janés (1991), Ediciones Diario El País (2003) and Edhasa (2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2011) were all credited to José Robles Pazos. There was even a 1992 edition by Planeta where the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* was credited to an Enrique Robles. Plagiarism and unforgivable mistake have been among the reasons given by other scholars to date; whatever the reason the fact is that the translations are different in ways that indicate multiple authors.

Professor Rosa Rabadán thinks that the translation credited to Robles Piquer could be a case of plagiarism (cf. *Equivalencia* 170), whereas for Manuel Broncano Rodríguez (1992), and Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (2005), it would be just one translation with slight variations, and the duplicity of translators may have been an unforgivable

typing error. As noted in previous pages, of the two editions of *Manhattan Transfer* available in Spain from booksellers, one is credited to Robles Pazos (Edhasa), the other to Robles Piquer (Debolsillo). And they *are* different to various degrees.

Broncano thinks the whole business of the translator's name change may have been intentional or not, but in his view Robles Piquer's translation undoubtedly belongs to Robles Pazos. The only changes Broncano notices are the footnotes by an anonymous editor who translated some of the English expressions Robles Pazos had left untranslated:

Eso sí, el "editor" (desconocido) ha tenido a bien añadir algunas notas a las que Robles ya introdujera para aclarar el significado de los términos en inglés que el traductor, [...] era aficionado a dejar sin traducir. Y es ésta la única variante que el que estas líneas subscribe detecta entre una y otra edición en castellano de *Manhattan Transfer*. (236)

According to the bibliography consulted by Broncano (242), he used the 1929 Spanish edition by Cenit, credited to Robles Pazos; unfortunately, he did not mention which of the various editions credited to Robles Piquer he was consulting in order to support his views. However, I found his statement intriguing, since my views on the similarities and differences between the two versions were quite different. The reason was that, from the beginning of my research and up to this point, I had been working on two Spanish editions of *Manhattan Transfer*, namely Planeta 1961 and Círculo de Lectores 1989, credited to Robles Pazos and Robles Piquer respectively. This was the first indication that the 1929 translation by Robles Pazos had been modified to some extent in the 1961 edition by Planeta, twenty four years before the appearance of the first translation of *Manhattan Transfer* credited to Robles Piquer (1984).

Martínez de Pisón researched into the life and death of José Robles Pazos from a historical point of view. Although the analysis of the translations was outside the scope of his work he did refer to the translation —or translations— of *Manhattan Transfer*. He did not think there were any significant changes in Robles Piquer's translation either. In his opinion, the surname confusion was particularly unfortunate because of its political circumstances. Whereas José Robles Pazos fought on the loyalist side during the Spanish civil war, the surname *Robles Piquer* echoes that of Carlos Robles Piquer, who used to be a member of Franco's government in the 1960s and was married to Elisa Fraga Iribarne, the sister of another well known conservative politician, Manuel Fraga Iribarne:

La que nunca ha dejado de reeditarse ha sido la versión que José Robles Pazos hizo de *Manhattan Transfer* para Cenit. Hasta la década de los setenta apareció siempre con su nombre y sus dos apellidos. En las ediciones de comienzos de los ochenta, los duendes de la imprenta le despojaron curiosamente del segundo apellido. Esos mismos duendes, sin embargo, le tenían reservado un destino bastante peor. En las reediciones posteriores a 1984 José Robles pasó a llamarse José Robles Piquer, y así sigue figurando en algunas de las más recientes. No cabe humorada más siniestra: por arte de birlibirloque, el mayor derrotado entre los derrotados ha acabado incorporándose a una de las más ilustres estirpes del franquismo victorioso (199-200).

I contacted Martínez de Pisón by email about the translations shortly after the publication of his book, in 2006. He confirmed he did not think there were any significant changes in Robles Piquer's version; he also told me that the daughter of Robles Pazos,

Miggie Robles,⁴⁶ had repeatedly written to various publishers to protest about the “error” and ask that her father’s name appeared correctly on the subsequent editions of *Manhattan Transfer*. This information was later confirmed by Luis de Azcárate, who added that Miggie Robles never got a satisfactory reply. (Conversation with Azcárate)

The fact that the critics dealing with the translations by Robles Pazos and Robles Piquer had not detected any other differences between the two versions led me to a reconsideration of the number of editions I needed to consult from then on, especially the 1929 original by Robles Pazos, and the two more recent ones in print: Edhasa’s 2011 (credited to Robles Pazos) and Debolsillo’s 2009 (credited to Robles Piquer).

Critics do not think there are various translations of *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish, but I do. The comparative analysis of some of the versions through the years confirms that the editions whose translations are credited to Robles Piquer are based on Robles Pazos’s; however, other changes were introduced before and after that date. Those changes are not coincidental, and there is evidence of a clear intentionality by the editors to modify Robles Pazos’s translation.

The point I would like to make is that, unlike Martínez de Pisón, Broncano and Rabadán, I do not think there is just one translator under two names, but distinct versions that, at times coincide, but in many cases use different translation approaches; those variations occur disregard the translators’ names. Having said that, I also think all of these versions are clearly based on Robles Pazos’s original translation of 1929, since some of the translated segments are a copy of Robles Pazos’s version. This can be seen in the peculiar way some of the English source text segments are interpreted and rendered into Spanish where there would have been space for other translation solutions; for example,

⁴⁶ Miggie Robles contributed with her testimonies to the writing of *Enterrar a los Muertos*, and Martínez de Pisón dedicated his book to her (259).

the translation of “*He had a monkey’s face puckered up in one corner*” for “*Tenía una cara de mona toda torcida de un lado*” or “*Bud’s road swelled shoes*” by “*zapatos deformados por la caminata*” coincide in every of the versions consulted.

As mentioned in the Introduction, I will start by comparing the original 1929 edition by Cenit with the edition by Planeta in 1961, credited to Robles Pazos, and the edition by Círculo de Lectores in 1989, credited to Robles Piquer. I have already explained the reason for this choice: both Planeta and Círculo de Lectores are major publishers in Spain, and their editions are extremely popular, apart from the fact that, chronologically speaking, those editions (1961 and 1989) have been available to a generation of readers that constitute the Spanish receptors of *Manhattan Transfer* of the second half of the 20th century. Later, I will compare the edition by Cenit 1929 with the two latest editions of *Manhattan Transfer* Edhasa 2005 and Debolsillo 2009.

For the analysis of the translation approaches used in the translations, I have chosen—for convenience but representative for my purposes—the opening paragraphs of the novel, Chapter I. I will use “Robles Pazos” to refer to the original edition of 1929 by Cenit, and the publishers’ names (“Planeta” and “Círculo”) to refer to the later editions/translations.

The chosen text is found in the opening chapter of *Manhattan Transfer*. The author takes the position of an objective narrator, acting with a cinematic technique that would later on be developed in the *U.S.A.* trilogy and coined as the “camera eye.” In spite of its apparent objectivity, it is a naturalistic eye, focusing on the less agreeable details. Behind the camera, the narrator acts as a movie director that chooses the details he wants to film, and the type of light he is going to use. In barely 30 lines, the reader is presented with two simultaneous settings in New York, a ferry slip and a hospital. Both settings are starting points for two of the multiple characters of the novel, Bud Korpenning, just

arriving in the city in search of new opportunities, and Ellen Thatcher, who has just been born. The description uses negative associations such as the noise of chains, the bad smells, a comparison of the baby with a knot of worms, the decadence in the buildings. That environment into which Bud Korpenning and Ellen Thatcher arrive is already signalling their fate. Eventually neither of them will be very fortunate in their city venture. Both the themes and the use of language may be ranked as familiar for the standard American reader, and the writer plays with feelings that many may have experienced when at the docks or in hospital-in this way he captures the readers' attention through sensations that belong to almost everyone's past experiences.

The last two scenes included in Chapter I include a conversation at a bar and a lighter, humorous fragment describing how a little bandylegged man surrendered to Gillette's publicity and cut his beard, including a picturesque description of Allen Street. At the bar, the conversation takes place between Ed Thatcher (Ellen's father), and a German printer, Marcus Antonius Zucher. The peculiar way in which Zucher speaks English, with a strong German accent, is an example of the way in which Dos Passos conveyed New York's multi-cultural setting. Dos Passos' masterful use of light and colours may be seen in the description of Allen Street, *up the sunstriped tunnel hung with skyblue and smoked salmon and mustardyellow quilts...* The little man's speech also denotes his foreign origins: '*Vat's a matter? Dontye like it?*' he tells his wife when she starts moaning at the sight of his naked face.

We can say that the text is a descriptive narrative. There is action from the very first line, expressed through long sentences with plenty of action verbs: *wheel, heave, spume, crashes, gulps, slides, settles, whirl, fold, step out, press, opened, squirm, move, stir, get, want, do, walk*. There are hardly any state verbs (*there was; he had; his feet*

were; he was). Dos Passos' choice of evoking images and personal associations for his descriptions is expressed through semantic expansions, either by the use of pre-modification or post-modification. Pre-modification is abundant. Thus, in the opening paragraph we can read: *broken boxes; green waves; round bow; broken water; manuresmelling wooden tunnel*. At the hospital: *big dry hot room; greenish distempered walls; faint sourish squalling; pursed-up lips*. On the ferry: *cracked patent leather shoe; little slapping scalloped waves; road-swelled shoes; skinny turkey's throat; broken-visored cap*.

There are also examples of semantic expansion through post-modification, with prepositional complements (*air tintured with smells of alcohol and iodoform*); relative clauses (*cabbage heads that heave between the splintered plank walls; the red wrist that stuck out*); participle clauses (*skidding on the tide; holding the basket; hung writhing a faint sourish smell; bucking... the waves; watching him*)

The lexical choice is amplified with metaphors and comparisons: *men and women...jostling like apples fed down a chute into a press; holding the basket as if it were a bedpan; the new born baby squirmed...like a knot of earthworms; he had a monkey's face; something warm and tingling shoot through all his veins; skinny Turkish throat*. The conversation between Bud Korpenning and the arrogant young man is like an allegorical warning of the difficulties of succeeding in New York. When Korpenning asks "how fur is it into the city...? /....I want to get to the center of things," he gets this reply: "That depends where you want to get to.../You'll find the center of things if you walk far enough." The cocky attitude of the city-wise character answering is already foretelling adversity for Korpenning, who will commit suicide a few pages later.

On his next encounter with a New Yorker, the redhaired waiter, Kopperring is again threatened by the possibility of not succeeding in his adventure "it's looks that

count in this city,” he is told. In this dialogue Dos Passos’ characters use a colloquial language which he conveys by the use of shortened forms or peculiar spellings to “colour” the characters’ speech. These can be seen in phrases like: *cup o coffee; want ‘em turned over; you look all in, feller; mornin; comin; it won’t cost you nutten; somthin; out o yer suit; you go an git a shave; I’m tellin yez.*

The variations in the translations published in the different editions under analysis may be divided into different categories, according to the language level that is affected by the translation process in each case and the final result. Among them, some are minor variations that –had they been isolated- might have been explained by the manipulation of editors working on the texts for print, whether willingly or not; changes of this type are less frequent than others, and would include things such as the use of capital letters (“norte” in Robles Pazos and in *Círculo*, “Norte” in *Planeta*) or minor lexical variations such as “joven” in *Círculo* and “muchacho” in *Planeta*, or “afirmativo” in *Planeta* and “de afirmación” in *Círculo*. Variations of this type, whether intentional or not, do not necessarily indicate the presence of another translator, so they alone would not support my thesis.

I am more interested in other variations: those that would never have happened without a reconsideration of the original translation process by one or more translators and/or editors checking not only Robles Pazos’s version but also Dos Passos’s original text. Under this category, one can find lexical variations; morphological variations; additions in the Spanish version to correct omissions by Robles Pazos and *Planeta*; instances where the differing translation criteria by the various editors/translators are patent.

I will start with the more superficial lexical variations, though potentially significant. When I use the term “lexical variations” I am referring to variations in the

choice of synonym or quasi synonym words by each translator. These variations in choice do not alter the meaning, but affect the target text mainly at a stylistic level, or in terms of register. In the following table, I have included examples of those translation units which show lexical variations between the Spanish versions.

Table 6: Lexical variations. (Cenit 1929; Planeta 1961; Círculo 1989)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Planeta 1961) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Círculo 1989) |
|---|---|--|---|
| ...as the ferry, skidding on the tide, crashes, gulps the broken water, slides, settles slowly into the slip. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, hiende el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, corta el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, hiende el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. |
| ...Gates fold upwards... | ..., puertas que se levantan, ... | ..., compuertas que se levantan, ... | ..., puertas que se levantan, ... |
| ...as if it were a bedpan... | ...como si fuera una silleta... | ...como si fuera una silleta... | ...como si fuera un orinal... |
| ...dry hot (room)... | ...excesivamente recalentada. | ...excesivamente caldeada. | ...excesivamente recalentada. |
| It's looks that count in this city... | En esta ciudad lo que vale es la facha | En esta ciudad lo que cuenta es la facha. | En esta ciudad lo que vale es la facha. |
| The young man's glance... | La mirada del joven... | La mirada del muchacho... | La mirada del joven... |
| That depends where you want to get to. | ...depende de adonde quiera usted ir... | ...depende de donde quiera usted ir... | ...depende de adónde quiera usted ir... |
| ...if you walk far enough. | ...si anda bastante. | ...si anda un trecho. | ...si anda bastante. |
| He stopped a nurse. | Ed paró a una enfermera | Ed detuvo a una enfermera. | Ed paró a una enfermera. |
| ...if you know where she is | ..si sabe dónde es. | ...si sabe dónde está. | ..si sabe dónde es. |
| ...her mouth in a smile. | ...la boca en una sonrisa | ...la boca con una sonrisa. | ...la boca en una sonrisa |

The above variations do not, in my opinion, alter the meaning or style of the target text, so they are barely perceptible on a first reading. It is worth mentioning that Círculo's version (credited to Robles Piquer) is closer to the original one by Robles Pazos at a lexical level. However, if compared with Planeta's edition, *there are* obvious variations at a lexical level.

Under morphological variations, I have included those segments that use similar lexical items but are morphologically different, i.e. changes in the use of verb tenses or post modification through adverbs versus preposition+ noun compounds.

Table 7: Morphological Variations. (Cenit 1929; Planeta 1961; Círculo 1989)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Planeta 1961) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Círculo 1989) |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|
| The newborn baby squirmed... | ...El recién nacido se retorció... | ...El recién nacido se retorció... | ...El recién nacido se retorció... |
| Bud nodded | Bud hizo un signo de afirmación | Bud hizo un signo afirmativo | Bud hizo un signo de afirmación |
| he slid stiffly ... | se instaló dificultosamente... | se instaló con dificultad... | se instaló dificultosamente... |

The above examples might have been the result of intentional changes, but they might also have been the result of unintentional reformulations of the original translation made by a careless typist/editor manipulating the text for print. Again, these examples alone would not necessarily indicate the presence of a new translator, and once more, it is Planeta's translation which differs from the earlier and later translations.

Some of the more revealing variations for the purpose of our thesis are those changes incorporated by Círculo in order to “correct” Robles Pazos’s omissions (also omitted in the edition by Planeta), by including segments in the Spanish version that did not appear in the original translation of *Manhattan Transfer*. I think these variations are more revealing because they necessarily indicate that, whoever was reviewing and/or re-editing Robles Pazos’s translation, was doing so by checking Dos Passos’s original and intentionally changed whatever he or she deemed necessary. Here follow the additions found in Robles Piquer’s translation which were not present in either version by Robles Pazos.

Table 8: Omissions. (Cenit 1929; Planeta 1961; Círculo 1989)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Planeta 1961) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Círculo 1989) |
|---|--|--|--|
| But when the ferry moved out of the slip, buckling the little slapping scalloped waves of the river he felt something warm and tingling shoot suddenly through all his veins. | ..., pero cuando el “ferry” se alejó del embarcadero, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo | ..., pero cuando el <i>ferry</i> se alejó del embarcadero, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo. | ..., pero cuando el <i>ferry</i> se alejó del embarcadero cabalgando sobre la rizada superficie del río, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo. |
| How do I get to Broadway?... I want to get to the center of things. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro, al centro de todas las cosas. |
| The man flopped the eggs sizzling and netted with brown onto the plate | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes en un plato | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes en un plato | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes y tostados en un plato |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| On the ferry there was an old man playing the violin. | ...En el ferry iba un viejo tocando el violín... | ...En el ferry un viejo tocando el violín... | ...En el ferry iba un viejo tocando el violín... |
| But please, miss, is everything all right? | ¿Pero marcha todo bien? | Pero ¿marcha todo bien? | Pero, dígame señorita, ¿marcha todo bien? |
| Why with pleasure | _____ | _____ | Con mucho gusto |

The above examples clearly denote an intention on Círculo's part to "improve" the original translation, by incorporating phrases that had been left untranslated by Robles Pazos and Planeta. They also indicate that whoever was reprinting *Manhattan Transfer*, was also re-translating it, or at least some of it. Detecting omissions requires a careful check of the source text and the target language text by a translator.

Regarding register in dialogues, throughout the novel Robles Pazos (in Cenit and Planeta alike) often uses "usted" instead of "tú" for the translation of "you", a courtesy formula that was much more frequent back in the 20th century and that is gradually disappearing in peninsular Spanish, though not in the Latin-American variations. Although Círculo also uses "usted" at times, it frequently changes Robles Pazos's use of "usted" either by omitting the pronoun or by changing both the pronoun and the verb form into the more informal "tú" in dialogues. Examples of the avoidance of the pronoun "usted" are shown in the table below.

Table 9: Use of “usted.” (Cenit 1929; Planeta 1961; Círculo 1989)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Planeta 1961) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Círculo 1989) |
|--|--|---|--|
| Comin to the big city to look for a job, eh? | ¿Y viene usted aquí a buscar trabajo, eh? | Y viene usted aquí a buscar trabajo ¿eh? | Ha venido a la ciudad a buscar trabajo, ¿eh? |
| I’m tellin yez, that’s all. | -Le digo a usted que eso es todo- dijo el pelirrojo. | -Le digo a usted que eso es todo- replicó el pelirrojo. | -Le digo que eso es todo-dijo el pelirrojo. |

There are other instances in the novel where the substitution of “usted” is obvious. In Section II, Chapter I titled *La Dama del Caballo Blanco*, Jimmy and Ruth—a young couple flirting in a restaurant on a Sunday over brunch—talk to each other using “usted” in Robles Pazos’ version (Robles Pazos was probably inferring they did not know each other too well) (Planeta *Manhattan Transfer* 151-153), but in Círculo’s version they address each other familiarly using “tú” all the way through their dialogues, except for the final part when Ruth uses “usted” to tease Jimmy (Círculo 1989 *Manhattan Transfer* 158-160).

This, again, is an evidence of an intentional variation on Círculo’s part, the use of “usted” or “tú” being usually a difficult decision in any translation process where the degree of familiarity between characters is not totally evident; these translation decisions may of course be also influenced by the translator’s own sociolect or idiolect, among other things.

The next set of variations I will focus on are, I think, particularly interesting, because they show Círculo’s (Robles Piquer’s) clear disagreement with Cenit’s (Robles Pazos’s) translation options. They are the result of a different interpretation of the

meaning of particular phrases or words in the source language text, and convey different meanings in the target language versions. The translators' differing criteria are evidenced in the following examples: Each of them is the result of a different translation process; so I will deal with each one of them separately.

Table 10.- Differing translation criteria. (Cenit 1929; Planeta 1961; Círculo 1989)

| English Original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Planeta 1961) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Círculo 1989) |
|--|--|---|--|
| ...As she set her basket down... | ...Al dejar la cesta en el suelo... | ...Al dejar la cesta en el suelo... | ...Al dejar la cesta en su sitio... |
| ...brush the hayseeds out o yer suit a bit | ...cepílese el traje, que está lleno de pajas... | ...cepílese el traje, que está lleno de pajas... | ...cepílese el traje, que está lleno de pelusas... |
| I walked fifteen miles this mornin. | ...esta mañana hice quince millas | ...esta mañana anduve quince millas. | ...esta mañana hice veinte kilómetros. |
| The plank walls of the slip closed in... | ...los tablones del embarcadero se juntaron... | ...los tablones del embarcadero se unieron... | ...los tablones del embarcadero chocaron... |
| EAT on a lunchwagon halfway down the block... | EAT en un figón antes de la esquina... | Entró en un figón antes de la esquina... | EAT escrito sobre un remolque antes de la esquina...(N.E.: Eat: infinitivo e imperativo de eat, comer) |
| Accountant. I hope before long to be a certified accountant. | Contable. Espero que pronto me nombrarán en propiedad. | Contable. Espero que pronto me nombrarán definitivamente. | Contable y pronto espero ser censor jurado de cuentas |
| These here crazy tradeunion socialists and bomsters... | ...esos locos de socialistas y dinamiteros... | ...esos locos de socialistas y dinamiteros... | ...esos locos de socialistas y sindicalistas siempre pidiendo. |

When Dos Passos uses the phrase “as she set her basket down” he is describing the action by the nurse who had been carrying the baby in a basket, but Dos Passos does

not say where she actually put the basket; the odds are that the nurse did not place the basket on the floor with the baby inside it, as Robles Pazos wrote, so I think Círculo 1989 was right when trying to render the source language segment in a different way. Círculo 1989s option “en su sitio” is more satisfactory than Robles Pazos’ “en el suelo,” simply because the former is more likely than the latter if we picture the nurse, the baby in the basket and the hospital ward. There are other, more neutral translation options, such as “al dejar la cesta,” which in my opinion is just as unspecific as the English original.

In our next example, I think it is Robles Pazos who rendered the idea more adequately, translating “hayseeds” by “pajas.” Bud Korpenning, just arrived in New York from the countryside used to live on a farm. The hayseeds reveal his country origins and the man at the lunchwagon is giving him advice on how to find a job in the city. So the “hayseeds” on Bud’s clothes are part of his characterization, and the change from “pajas” into “pelusas” does alter the Spanish reader’s reception of Bud as a character. It is hard to tell what moved Círculo 1989 to change “hayseeds” into “pelusas” (which mean fluff or dust in English).

The next thing I would like to focus attention on is the use by Robles Pazos of “millas” for “miles”, whereas Círculo 1989 decided to make the conversion into kilometres. In my opinion, this functional approach in this particular case is unnecessary, since the word “milla” is perfectly possible and understandable in Spanish; it also “colours” the text by reinforcing its American cultural context. The functional approach regarding units of measure in general (feet, inches, miles, etc) is necessary when the target reader needs the exact equivalence in order to follow a cooking recipe or follow a planned route, for example. In a literary text, that accuracy in the information is not always needed; in our particular case, the reader does not need to know the exact distance Bud has walked, the “millas” are in my opinion acceptable and locate Bud in a particular

geographical and cultural context, America, which is relevant in the plot. I am not saying the mile conversion into kilometres is wrong, but it is not the approach I would use in this particular context.

One of the least convincing renderings in the fragment under analysis is the translation of the segment “...the plank walls closed in, cracked as the ferry lurched against them...,” which is used by Dos Passos to describe the visual perception from the ferry as it approaches the slip before it comes alongside or ties up.⁴⁷ In my opinion, none of the versions manage to describe the scene in a similar way, since the three use misleading images: “los tablonés del embarcadero chocaron” in Círculo 1989s version, (the planks crashed); or, in Robles Pazos’s and Planeta’s versions, “los tablonés del embarcadero se juntaron” and “se unieron” respectively, (both meaning “the planks joined together”). None of them have specified that it is the plank *walls* that closed in. Although I admit it is not an easy phrase to translate, I would suggest something more visual, such as “al aproximarse al paramento de madera del muelle, los tablonés crujieron al chocar el ferry contra ellos.” I think the three Spanish versions under analysis are in this case unsatisfactory, since they are not faithful to the original and, at the same time, do not help the target reader visualize the action described by Dos Passos in the original.

Another translation unit that has been interpreted in different ways in the three versions is “certified accountant.” In the United States, a certified accountant is an accountant who has passed certain examinations and met all other statutory and licensing requirements to be certified by one particular state. Given the fact the term has cultural connotations without an exact equivalent in the Spanish culture, it was necessary to use a

⁴⁷ William Brevda noted that the opening lines of Chapter 1 of *Manhattan Transfer*, “Ferry slip”, echo the 1921 silent documentary film *Manhatta* by Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler. (cf. “The Hat” 2) The film is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qduvk4zu_hs

functional approach in the translation. From that point of view, the three translators have used different functional approaches, and in the three instances –though by different means- the idea that Thatcher is hoping to be promoted and succeed is successfully rendered.

The last example I will analyze shows how Círculo over-translated one of the character's statements regarding the socio-economic situation in New York, by expressing in a more explicit way an idea that was only suggested or, expressed in terms of Berman's negative analytics, an expansion of the original by unfolding what is folded in the original. At the bar, while drinking to their children's births, two characters talk about future prospects. One of them is a German printer named Zucher –who only appears briefly in this first chapter-, and the other one is Ed Thatcher, Ellen's father. At one point in the conversation, Zucher says: ". . . mit wages going up und these here crazy tradeunion socialists and bomsters..." In the Spanish versions by Cenit and Planeta, Pazos omitted the word *tradeunion*, thus translating the sentence by "y los salarios que suben mit esos locos de socialistas y dinamiteros." Círculo detected the flaw, but instead of simply adding the idea of tradeunion workers, it "censored" the word *bomsters* and added "siempre pidiendo." The result in Círculo's version therefore omits one important concept too. It could have been solved by simply adding to Robles Pazos's original version the idea that those socialists and bomsters were in the tradeunions: "esos locos de socialistas [sic] y dinamiteros *de los sindicatos*..." -more faithful to Zucher's words.

Our analysis would not be complete without some research into what has happened in the more recent, 21st century Spanish versions of *Manhattan Transfer* currently in print. In the last six years (from 2004 onwards) two publishers have been re-editing *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain: Debolsillo (2014, 2009; 2006, 2004) and Edhasa (2011, 2008, 2007, 2005). In order to see the extent to which Robles Pazos's original

translation has been respected or modified, I have again made a contrastive analysis of Chapter I, this time comparing the editions by Cenit 1929 (credited to Robles Pazos) with Edhasa 2005 (also credited to Robles Pazos) and Debolsillo 2009 (credited to Robles Piquer).

In my analysis of this set of editions, I will proceed as with the earlier versions above. I will look at the same translation segments, so that the analysis serves not only as an isolated comparison of the more recent versions, but may also be contrasted with the changes made in the previous editions. The first group of translation segments I have looked at refer to lexical variations between Robles Pazos's original translation and the two later ones by Edhasa and Debolsillo. From this analysis I have concluded that, at lexical level, recent versions of Chapter I under analysis are quite faithful to Robles Pazos's translation, as seen by the smaller number of changes detected. The following table includes the English original units where I had detected changes in the 1961 and 1989 versions, but this time the comparison is drawn with the editions by Edhasa and Debolsillo. It is noticeable that a lesser number of variations have occurred.

Table 11.- Lexical variations (Cenit 1929; EDHASA 2005; Debolsillo 2009)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Edhasa 2005) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Debolsillo 2009) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ...as the ferry, skidding on the tide, crashes, gulps the broken water, slides, settles slowly into the slip. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, hiende el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, hiende el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. | ...del <i>ferry</i> que, arrastrado por la marea, hiende el agua, resbala, atraca lentamente en el embarcadero. |

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| ...Gates fold upwards... | ..., puertas que se levantan, ... | ..., conpuertas (sic) que se levantan, ... | ..., puertas que se levantan, ... |
| ...as if it were a bedpan... | ...como si fuera una silleta... | ...como si fuera una orinal... | ...como si fuera un orinal... |
| ...dry hot (room)... | ...excesivamente recalentada. | ...excesivamente caldeada. | ...excesivamente recalentada. |
| It's looks that count in this city... | En esta ciudad lo que vale es la facha | En esta ciudad lo que vale es la facha. | En esta ciudad lo que vale es la facha. |
| The young man's glance... | La mirada del joven... | La mirada del joven | La mirada del joven... |
| That depends where you want to get to. | ...depende de adonde quiera usted ir... | ...depende de adónde quiera usted ir... | ...depende de adónde quiera usted ir... |
| ...if you walk far enough. | ...si anda bastante. | ...si camina usted lo suficiente. | ...si anda bastante. |
| He stopped a nurse. | Ed paró a una enfermera | Ed paró a una enfermera. | Ed paró a una enfermera. |
| ...if you know where she is | ..si sabe dónde es. | ...si sabe dónde es. | ..si sabe dónde es. |
| ...her mouth in a smile. | ...la boca en una... | ...la boca en una sonrisa. | ...la boca en una sonrisa |

Next I will be looking at what has happened in the more recent translations regarding omissions by Robles Pazos in the first edition back in 1929. The analysis of the text fragments that had been left un-translated by Robles Pazos in the editions by Cenit and Planeta shows that both Edhasa and Debolsillo have incorporated the additions/corrections made in the 1989 edition by Círculo. No new omissions have been detected in the newer versions in the fragment under analysis, as can be seen from the following table:

Table 12.- Omissions (Cenit 1929; EDHASA 2005; Debolsillo 2009)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Edhasa 2005) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Debolsillo 2009) |
|---|--|---|---|
| But when the ferry moved out of the slip, buckling the little slapping scalloped waves of the river he felt something warm and tingling shoot suddenly through all his veins. | ..., pero cuando el “ferry” se alejó del embarcadero, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo | ..., pero cuando el ferry se alejó del embarcadero cabalgando sobre la rizada superficie del río, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo. | ..., pero cuando el ferry se alejó del embarcadero cabalgando sobre la rizada superficie del río, sintió por todas sus venas un cálido hormigueo. |
| How do I get to Broadway?... I want to get to the center of things. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro, al centro mismo de todas las cosas. | ¿Dónde está Broadway?...Quiero ir al centro, al centro de todas las cosas. |
| The man flopped the eggs sizzling and netted with brown onto the plate | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes en un plato | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes y tostados en un plato | El otro echó los huevos crepitantes y tostados en un plato |
| But please, miss, is everything all right? | ¿Pero marcha todo bien? | Pero, dígame señorita, ¿marcha todo bien? | ¿Pero, dígame señorita, marcha todo bien? |
| Why with pleasure | ————— | Con mucho gusto | Con mucho gusto |

The next set of variations I will focus on are those that showed clear disagreement with Robles Pazos’s translation options. As seen above, they are the result of a different interpretation of the meaning of particular phrases or words in the source language text. The following table shows how many of those variations still remain in present-day translations.

Table 13.- Differring translation criteria (Cenit 1929; EDHASA 2005; Debolsillo 2009)

| English original | Translation by Robles Pazos (Cenit 1929) | Translation by Robles Pazos (Edhasa 2005) | Translation by Robles Piquer (Debolsillo 2009) |
|--|--|--|--|
| ...As she set her basket down... | ...Al dejar la cesta en el suelo... | ...Al dejar el capacho en su sitio... | ...Al dejar la cesta en su sitio... |
| ...brush the hayseeds out o yer suit a bit | ...cepíllese el traje, que está lleno de pajas... | ...cepíllese el traje, que está lleno de pelusa... | ...cepíllese el traje, que está lleno de pelusa... |
| I walked fifteen miles his mornin. | ...esta mañana hice quince millas | ...esta mañana hice veinte kilómetros. | ...esta mañana hice veinte kilómetros. |
| The plank walls of the slip closed in... | ...los tablones del embarcadero se juntaron... | ...los tablones del embarcadero se acercaron... | ...los tablones del embarcadero se acercaron... |
| EAT on a lunchwagon halfway down the block... | EAT en un figón antes de la esquina... | COMER, estaba escrito sobre un remolque antes de la esquina... | EAT escrito sobre un remolque antes de la esquina...(N.E.: Eat: infinitivo e imperativo de eat, comer) |
| Accountant. I hope before long to be a certified accountant. | Contable. Espero que pronto me nombrarán en propiedad. | Contable y confío en ser pronto censor jurado de cuentas. | Contable y pronto espero ser censor jurado de cuentas |
| These here crazy tradeunion socialists and bomsters... | ...esos locos de socialistas y dinamiteros... | ...esos locos de socialistas y sindicalistas siempre pidiendo | ...esos locos de socialistas y sindicalistas... |

From the above, we can see that some of the changes that were incorporated in the 1989 edition by Círculo have remained both in Edhasa and Debolsillo. As discussed above, I think the segment describing where the baby-basket was placed by the nurse —

“en su sitio”— is an improvement if compared with Robles Pazos’s option “en el suelo.” The use of the word “capacho” by Edhasa is also adequate, since it is the word used in peninsular Spanish to refer to baskets which are specially meant for carrying babies. However, the rest of the changes do not, in my opinion, improve the translation in any way. If anything, they are an attempt of fidelity to the source text, such as in “tableered accountant,” which has become “censor jurado de cuentas,” a Spanish alternative in some contexts, or “the plank walls closed in” which is now translated into “los tablones...se acercaron” (came closer), although the *walls* are still missing in the Spanish versions. Among the changes I do not agree with, the “hayseeds” have turned into “pelusa”, the miles into “kilómetros” and the “tradeunion...bomsters” are merely “tradeunion workers.” In my opinion, these changes mean losses if compared with Robles Pazos’s options. As for the phrase “EAT on a lunchwagon halfway down the block...,” where EAT has been left in English in most versions, including Robles Pazos’s, it has been finally translated by Edhasa, but followed by the unnecessary addition of a personal verb form “estaba escrito” (was written), instead of the past participle “escrito” which would be perfectly adequate in Spanish and more in the line of Dos Passos’s “camera eye” style.

Apart from the above, the 2005 edition by Edhasa has introduced some other changes which make it different from earlier versions under analysis, and also better in terms of readers’ acceptability. This difference consists in the translation into Spanish of some of the expressions that had been left in English by Robles Pazos, usually related to adverts, signs, expressions, etc. The reason why Robles Pazos left some of those signs or expressions in English is not known; in modern translation practice, leaving terms untranslated in the target text is only common when it is totally impossible to find a satisfactory rendering in the target language. Broncano notices that one of the most

striking things about the amount of un-translated segments Robles Pazos left in the target text is that he did not always follow the same criteria. He criticizes the inconsistencies in the use of three different approaches for no apparent reasons; thus, in the version he analyzed, inverted commas or italics, with or without footnotes, were used for “*ferry*” or “*jackstones*,” for example. Explication was also used by Robles Pazos in cases such as “Conozco las rosas *Jack*”, where in the source text the word “rose” was not present. In a number of other cases, he simply left the word or words in English with no further help to the reader, such as the above “EAT” example or, as Broncano cites, “Beefsteak Parties Upstairs” (236-237). The only reason I can think of for Robles Pazos’s inconsistency regarding what to do with some of these translation units is the fact that Dos Passos’s innovative style was so new at the time that Robles Pazos found it hard to convey; Robles Pazos may have tried to give the text that sense of “modernity” and “newyorkness” by leaving signs or expressions in English, in the same way a Spaniard would read them or hear them if travelling in New York in the mid-twenties. The 2005 edition by Edhasa modified Robles Pazos’s translation by reviewing the segments which had been left in English in the target Spanish text. In Chapter I, there are two instances of this. One of them I have already discussed: it is the EAT sign on a lunchwagon. The other example is found towards the end of the chapter, when a man decides to buy a new Gillette blade to get rid of his beard. When the man is looking at the shop-window wondering whether to enter the drugstore, he reads a sign that says: “NO STROPPING NO HONING.” This sign has been left in English in every Spanish edition under analysis, except in Edhasa’s 2008, where it says: “NI FIJARLAS NI AFILARLAS.” Although I do not think this translation option is the only possible one, I do think it is much better to translate the motto into Spanish, so that the target reader does not lose the meaning conveyed in the

English original. Other options such as “No necesitará cuero ni piedra de afilar”, or “OLVÍDESE DE AFILARLA” would also work.

I have found some other examples of intentional variations in Edhasa’s edition that are particular to that publisher. However, they do not represent an overall improvement in the final translation as a whole, but are limited and not always justifiable. I have already mentioned the use of the word “capacho” for “basket”, which as I said earlier can be considered as an improvement with respect to “cesta.” Other changes are less justifiable. For example, the expression “knot of earthworms” to describe the movements of the baby in the basket had been translated into “hervidero de gusanos” in all other versions, whereas Edhasa preferred “nido de lombrices”, making not much difference in meaning but clearly indicating an intentional change. Similarly, the “mecheros de gas” that light the hospital ward in the other versions, become “lámparas de gas” in Edhasa’s. Contradicting Edhasa’s approach of eliminating unnecessary English words, the “droguería” in Allen Street where the small man bought his first Gillette blade is inexplicably a “*drugstore*” in Edhasa’s edition. Similarly, further in the novel *lunchwagon* is left in English, whereas at times it becomes *remolque* or *cantina*.

Regarding the edition by Debolsillo 2009, as far as I can see it is an exact reproduction of Círculo’s 1989 translation. The translation copyright for this edition belongs to José Robles Robles Piquer (sic) and was assigned to Debolsillo by Planeta. However, the 1961 edition by Planeta was credited to Robles Pazos and, as seen earlier, was quite different to the 1989 version by Círculo. There must be some logic behind this apparent chaos; further research is needed in order to trace at what point in the Spanish publishing history of *Manhattan Transfer* Planeta decided to use a different version to the one they originally published back in 1961. The irony is that the 2009 translation, credited to Robles Piquer, is closer to Robles Pazos’s original translation than the 2005 translation,

credited to Robles Pazos. Another interesting area for research remains open regarding publishers' policies and practices towards the authorship and copyright of the translations of *Manhattan Transfer* through the years. There is enough evidence to say that this is not a case of one translation under two names.

Throughout the translations of *Manhattan Transfer* into Spanish, variations of the kind dealt with above are a constant and show that there have been systematical revisions by editors, whilst translation copyrights have not been particularly valued. The alterations are almost invariably at a lexical level, whereas it is true that the versions I have analyzed follow Robles Pazos's original translation in most instances in terms of syntax. However, the changes introduced by Planeta 1961, Círculo 1989, and Edhasa 2005 make them qualitatively different to José Robles Pazos's *Manhattan Transfer* as published by Cenit in 1929; in my opinion those changes are significant enough to consider them as different versions. Beyond translation intellectual property right issues which have not been respected, the fact that the translations have been periodically revised offers the opportunity to study how translators have interpreted the source text at different historical moments, thus providing different readings of the novel.

5.4. Distinctive features of the translation approaches in *Manhattan Transfer*

In the previous section regarding the diachronic analysis of Chapter 1 "Ferry'slip" in the various editions under study, I have already analyzed some of the translation strategies used in the Spanish *Manhattan Transfer*. In the last part of this chapter dealing with translation analysis, my aim is to identify characteristic patterns in the translation approach originally used by José Robles in 1929, and to what extent these have remained

in the editions currently available to Spanish readership, namely Debolsillo 2008 and Edhasa 2005. Those distinctive features in translation approaches have been divided into five different sections, dealing with the rendering of migratory languages; a diachronic analysis of lexical choices, omissions, rationalization tendencies and finally, failed renderings.

As Berman noted, the translation of literature is “concerned with *works*, that is to say texts so bound to their language that the translating act inevitably becomes a manipulation of signifiers” (241). In the formulation of the “deforming tendencies” that operate whether consciously or unconsciously in the mind of the literary translator, Berman specified that these were especially notorious in the case of the translation of literary prose. In his own words:

Literary prose collects, reassembles, and intermingles the polylingual space of community. It mobilizes and activates the totality of “languages” that coexist in language. This can be seen in Balzac, Proust, Joyce, Faulkner, Augusto Antonio Roa Bastos, Joao Guimaraes Rosa, Carlo Emilio Gadda, etc. Hence, from a *formal* point of view, the language-based cosmos that is prose, especially the novel is characterized by a certain *shapelessness*, which results from the enormous brew of languages and linguistic systems that operate in the work. (243)

The above statement is indeed applicable to describe the “languages” used by John Dos Passos in *Manhattan Transfer*.

5.4.1. Spanish rendering of migratory language

One of the most identifiable features of Dos Passos's prose in *Manhattan Transfer* is the contrast between the narrator's voice, characterized by the use of connotative language and rhetoric devices, and the colloquial polyphony of the characters' voices, reflecting not only New York's "migratory language" (Fuentes) of the 1920s, but also the language used by characters in the different social classes, female speech versus male speech, urban slang, etc. Thus, heteroglosia or superimposition of languages, which is one of the main problems posed by translation—as noted by Berman—is in the case of *Manhattan Transfer* a recurrent translation challenge.

As Zamora has noted, in translating *Manhattan Transfer* Robles contributed to the approximation of Spanish readers to "el vulgar americano" and to the urban New York dialect of the time (cf. 474) y del dialecto urbano neoyorquino que caracterizan muchos pasajes de *Manhattan Transfer*" (474).

As noted earlier, Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes had referred to the translation difficulties of the novel in his prologue to the 2000 edition by Círculo de Lectores. I agree with his view that, of all the different features of the characters' speech, the hardest one to translate is the English spoken by the immigrants. In Fuentes's words: "Nueva York es presentada por Dos Passos como ciudad de inmigrantes y el lenguaje de la ciudad, en consecuencia, se carga y diversifica [...]. Esta sí que es una dimensión difícil de traducir al castellano y que, seguramente, el lector de lengua española deberá perder o imaginar" (15). Of these instances of migratory language, the only traces that have remained in the Spanish version by Robles are those by French, German or Italian characters, and not in

every case. Thus, we frequently come across such phrases as “*questo paese e completamente soto sopra*,” “*de suite, monsieur*,” “*merde*,” “*diable*,” “*Santísima María putana*,” etc. In the English original all these have been left unmarked, and appear throughout the text with no previous contextualization or visual mark, which adds to the feeling of a truly multicultural setting. The Spanish editions have also left these untranslated, although the editions by Círculo 1989 and Debolsillo 2009 have incorporated footnotes with the translation into Spanish. Robles did not do so in 1929, and Edhasa 2005 followed this same approach, but additionally he used italics to mark them for the reader. From my point of view, Robles’s option in 1929 is more faithful to the spirit of the original, even though it requires an extra effort on the part of the reader.

The language peculiarities of the Jews, the Irish and the Afro-Americans are sometimes rendered in the form of low register, but with no other distinctive marks regarding their particular ethnic origin. In those cases, it is the context that helps the reader to identify the character. Let’s now take a closer look at some more examples of peculiar speech and the ways these have been rendered.

Cassandra Wilkins, the character that appears in one of the censored paragraphs earlier studied, has this peculiar way of speaking that Dos Passos conveyed by substituting the “r” sounds by “w” sounds in her speech. Thus, she says “weads” for “reads”; “interpwet” for “interpret”; “wehearse” for “rehearse”, etc. Spanish spelling is generally rigid and we very rarely modify spellings to convey peculiar ways of uttering speech, except for some localisms (i.e. Andalusian accents) or what we call “ceceo” (mispronouncing the “s” sounds and turning them into the Spanish “z” sounds). This is probably one of the greatest difficulties in translating *Manhattan Transfer*, since many of the characters speak non-standard English. And this is one of the instances where the

various editions differ in criteria. In Robles Pazos's version of 1929, Cassandra's peculiar way of speaking is marked by substituting the "r" by "w." Thus the sentence ". . ." "Oh I'm afwaid I was indiscweet to say that...I'm dweadfully indiscweet" becomes "Oh temo haber sido indiscweta...Siempwe soy muy indiscweta." Santiago Rueda's edition of 1941 changed this and, instead, incorporated some words where the letter "s" is substituted by the letter "z", such as "zabe usted" for "sabe usted." Thus, we can conclude that the translator/editor of these two editions chose to use a translation strategy that considered the superimposition of languages, also keeping the foreignity of the original.

However, in the 1961 version by Planeta, Cassandra's speech has no distinctive marks at all, in another example of what Berman considered an "ethnocentric approach," which deforms the target text by keeping it homogenous and destroying the multiplicity of voices. In later versions (Círculo 1989, Edhasa 2005 and Debolsillo 2009), Cassandra mispronounces every "s" sound and it is represented by the substitution of the letter "s" by the letter "z" in everything she says. Here is an example: "Oh, zeñor Herf, eztoy encantada de conocerle al fin, Ruth no hace máz que hablar de uzted. Oh, temo haber zido indizcreta...Ziempre zoy muy indizcreta." (Círculo 1989: 157). Planeta's option of eliminating any peculiar feature in Cassandra's speech is for us the least convincing strategy, involving a straightforward rendering of meaning but not form, which is not the ideal in literary translation.

Another interesting example can be found in the conversation between the Irish milkman, Gus McNeil, and the barkeep Daniel McGillicuddy, whom we meet for the first time in Chapter 2, "Metropolis." Their Irish accents are clearly conveyed in the source text, where we "hear" them say things such as: ". . ." *she won't cotton to it much at foist [...] This aint no loife for her nor me neyther [...] if we could buy a noice genteel restarurant [...] got me eye on a little property [...] niver moind that...* (Dos Passos,

Manhattan Transfer 52). In the 1929 Spanish version, some effort has been made to render the dialogues in a non-standard, low register tone, with strategies such as omitting the final syllables of some words as in “*ni pa ella ni pa mí,*” or dropping consonants as in “*dejao*” or “*agarrao*.” However, the Spanish reader has no way to detect an Irish accent in the way their speech has been rendered; in this case the origin of the characters may only be inferred by their names.

Leaving migrant dialects apart and focusing now in the general approach to the translation of dialogues, Robles’s strategy was to use colloquial language, and managed in most cases to make it sound natural by using various discursive markers, from syntactic devices characteristic of oral language, to altered spellings to reflect peculiar dictions. The overall analysis of the numerous dialogues shows Robles Pazos mastering colloquial language in Spanish, as seen in sentences such as “*fíjate qué socia, qué andares*” for “...look at the swell same...look at the way she walks,” or in “you’ve damn well got to, we’ll beat hell outa both of ye if you don’t” for “*pues tienes que querer, o si no os moleremos a golpes a ti y al otro, ¡me cago en diez!*.”

However, it is precisely in colloquialisms and slang where later editions of the novel in Spain have introduced the most noticeable changes. The tendency seems to have been towards the use of more standard forms, even more conservative ones, as will be argued in the following section dealing with the diachronic analysis of lexical choices.

5.4.2. Diachronic analysis of lexical choices

If we look at the texts of the editions under study as a whole regarding translation strategies (and beyond Chapter 1 “Ferry’slip” which has been analysed in closer detail regarding translators’ authorship), we notice a number of words and expressions which are repeated throughout the novel and which have been changed by publishers through the years, probably in an attempt to “update” the language. From my point of view, there are few instances in which this would have been necessary, since many of the words and expressions that have been modified were perfectly understandable and suitable in the context of the early 1900s. The final result is at times an impoverishment as compared with the language used by Robles in the 1929 edition. In the table below, I list some examples of words present in the 1929 edition which —from my point of view— have been unnecessarily replaced in currently available editions.

Table 14.- Unnecessary word replacements.

| Cenit 1929 | Edhasa 2005 |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| salida de teatro | abrigo de gala |
| Rubicunda | Pelirroja |
| Tablero | mesa de dibujo |
| Convidar | Invitar |
| parar en un hotel | Alojarse |
| Fregajo | Estropajo |
| Doctor | Médico |
| Chinero | Alacena |
| Encinta | Embarazada |
| Trinchero | mesa de servicio |
| hongo castaño | Sombrero hongo marrón |

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| Rin | vino blanco |
| Componer | Arreglar |
| cantina/figón | lunchwagon-remolque |
| cubo de hielo | Cubitera |

However, there are some instances where the changes may be justified from a translation point of view considering the context in which they are found, either because they are so outdated that the meaning would otherwise be lost, or because their spelling and/or form has now been standardized. The next table includes some examples of these.

Table 15.- Positive lexical changes

| Cenit 1929 | Edhasa 2005 |
|--|--------------------------|
| | |
| Pacholí | Pachulí |
| Ballenas | Corsés |
| tarjeta de la Unión | carne del sindicato |
| culebrón [por desambiguación con culebrón referido a una serie televisiva] | gran culebra (reptil) |
| Albondiguilla | Hamburguesa |
| Picadillo de cecina | Picadillo de corned beef |

I have also found a number of colloquial expressions and slang words that have been systematically replaced, and again the need for such changes at times may be questioned. It is interesting to note here that blasphemies have almost banished from current editions as compared with Robles's version of 1929. I have included some examples of this in Table 16.

Table 16.- Updating of colloquial expressions and slang

| Colloquial expressions/slang | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Cuartos | Monedas |
| Parné | Pasta |
| Demontre | Demonios |
| guindillas | polis, polizontes |
| Rica | Cariño |
| Pamplinoso | Bobo |
| Como hay Dios que... | Por Dios que... |
| | |
| ser un número | ser gracioso |
| Diñarla | Morir |
| Carajo | caramba-demonios |
| Camello | Gorila |
| Peques | Pequeños |
| Voltejea | Girar |
| Pistonudo | Genial |
| Swear words | |
| Recristo | Demonios |
| por los clavos de Cristo | por dios |
| Hideputas | Canallas |
| qué coño | qué diablo |
| le rompería el bautismo | le rompería la cara |

From the above set of examples, we can see that the tendency in more recent editions has been to soften the language, using more neutral, less forceful expressions. Blasphemies in which the word “Cristo” appears have been often substituted by other milder options.

Finally, I have found that there are some words that Robles had left in English in the 1929 edition, probably because they had not yet settled in our cultural system. In recent editions, these now appear in their Spanish standard form in most cases, or “naturalized” as in the case of *buñuelos* for *doughnuts*⁴⁸ in currently available editions. Here are some examples.

Table 17.- Foreign words or anglicisms

| Foreign words or anglicisms | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Baseball | Béisbol |
| Doughnuts | Buñuelos |
| Tournée | Gira |
| cock-tail | Cóctel |
| lunch-room | Comedor |
| Champaña | Champán |
| Restaurant | Restaurante |
| Union | Sindicato |

From the above sets of examples, we can see that an attempt has been made in recent editions of the Spanish translations to update the language of the novel, together with a tendency to edulcorate some of the frank language used by Robles in 1929.

Another distinctive feature in later editions is the systematic use of italics for English words that have been left in English in the target text too, such as “*lunch*” or “*ferry*,” for example; the use of italics in those cases in Cenit’s 1929 edition was a bit

⁴⁸ The word “dónut” for the English doughnut already appears in some Spanish dictionaries, although to date the Real Academia de la Lengua Española has not yet included it.

chaotic and random, as noted by Broncano, so this is a welcome improvement in currently available editions. Modern day versions also use italics for French, German and Italian phrases used by the characters, something Dos Passos did not do, nor did Robles in 1929. This latter modification makes the pages more reader-friendly, but is less respectful of the spirit of the source text, since it marks as “foreign” the migratory language spoken by New Yorkers in the early 1900s, something Dos Passos had not done.

Reference must be made here to the systematic inclusion of footnotes in the edition credited to Robles Piquer (Debolsillo 2009), used either to translate French or Italian phrases used by some of the characters, or to clarify some cultural references, such as the “Flatiron Building” (81), and “Scotch Highballs”(156), for example.

5.4.3. Omissions

Omission as a translation strategy always involves an impoverishment of the text. For any translator, omission is an option only in cases where there is no other choice, normally not based on linguistic difficulties —there should be always a way— but often because of the norms⁴⁹ that operate in the translation process.

There are frequent omissions in the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*, the analysis of which shows that they are the result of different mechanisms in operation. We have already dealt with some omissions in the 1961 translation which had been the result of the publishing circumstances in Franco’s times. However, there are other cases in which omissions are the result of the translation strategies employed, as I will show in the following examples.

In some cases, some of the cultural elements of the original have been omitted

⁴⁹ See Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2.3. on Toury’s norms

when they do not have a simple, straightforward translation, as for example in the case of the “Western Union burglar” who becomes “el ladrón ese.”

Let’s now have a look at another case in which omission becomes a translation strategy, probably due to the impossibility of a satisfactory Spanish rendering. The segment is found in Chapter 3 of the Third Section, “Revolving Doors,” Jimmy gets back home late from work, falls asleep and begins to dream. The sentence is shown in Table 18 on the next page.

Table 18.- Omission as translation strategy

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|---|--|--|--|
| Herf, says a man in overalls, you’re hurting the machine and we wont be able to get out the bullgod edition thank dog (296) | Herf, dice un hombre con un traje de mecánico, le está usted haciendo daño a la máquina, y no podemos sacar la edición...(349) | Herf, dice un hombre con un traje de mecánico, le está usted haciendo daño a la máquina, y no podemos sacar la edición...(452) | Sr. Herf, dice un hombre con un traje de mecánico, le está usted haciendo daño a la máquina, y no podemos sacar la edición...(358) |

As can be seen in the above example, the last part of the sentence has been omitted in every Spanish version and thus the pun created by the deliberate consonant exchange in *bullgod edition* and *thank dog* (instead of *bulldog* and *god*) has remained untranslated in Spanish. The pun reinforces the absurdity of Jimmy’s dream depicted in the passage, and adds an irreverent, humoristic note. The effect is lost in the Spanish

versions.

I have found other examples of source texts segments which have been omitted in the translation. In Chapter two of the Second Section, entitled “Longlegged Jack of the Isthmus,” Joe Harland is walking down Third Avenue, feeling sick. The sentence “*The dead air stank stores and lunch rooms*” (148) is missing in all the Spanish versions.

In Chapter two, “Metropolis,” the milkman Gus McNeil delivers milk in two different “grades,” but also “*pints of cream and buttermilk*” which have vanished in the Spanish version. The omission of certain descriptive qualities is frequent throughout the text in all versions. Thus, *careful frown* (55) becomes *ceño fruncido* (just “frown,” and not “careful” which could be translated as “premeditado”); *tall nudging wardrobes* (73) become *altos armarios* (losing the “nudging” element which ignores the personification along with the idea that there was little space in the room); and *bright confetti* (123) becomes just *confetti* in every version under analysis (and more than once) in the Spanish text. Whilst it is true that isolated omissions of this kind do not have a strong impact on the overall quality of any translation, the systematic abuse of these translation strategies makes the poetics of the source and target texts diverge in an unnecessary way. Such losses “impoverish” the target text, both quantitatively and qualitatively (cf. Berman 7-8).

5.4.4. Destruction of linguistic patternings

I have found other instances in the Spanish translations under study where qualitative changes have been made, either in the form of omissions, or through the use of generic words as a strategy to translate more specific concepts without a straightforward equivalent in the target culture.

Table 19 includes an illustrative example of the above. The segment is found in the opening lines of Chapter four of the Second Section entitled “Fire Engine.”

Table 19.- Destruction of linguistic patternings (1)

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parlorsnakes and flappers joggle hugging downtown uptown, hug joggling gray square after gray square, until they see the new moon giggling over Weehawken and feel the gusty wind of a dead Sunday blowing dust in their faces, a dust of a tipsy twilight (186). | Chicas y chicos se empujan magreándose, calle arriba, calle abajo; se magrean empujándose, plaza tras plaza, hasta que la luna nueva ríe en lo alto de Weehawken, hasta que las ráfagas de un domingo muerto les soplan polvo a la cara, el polvo de un crepúsculo borracho.(219) | Chicas y chicos se empujan manoseándose, calle arriba, calle abajo; se manosean empujándose, plaza tras plaza, hasta que la luna nueva ríe en lo alto de Weehawken, hasta que las ráfagas de un domingo muerto les soplan polvo a la cara, el polvo de un crepúsculo borracho.(279) | Chicas y chicos se empujan magreándose, calle arriba, calle abajo; se magrean empujándose, plaza tras plaza, hasta que la luna nueva ríe en lo alto de Weehawken, hasta que las ráfagas de un domingo muerto les soplan polvo a la cara, el polvo de un crepúsculo borracho.(220) |

In the above example, the concepts of “parlorsnake,” a deceitful and promiscuous man who calls on a naive woman, and “flappers” which were urban girls who adopted new styles and fashion, are lost by the weak Spanish rendering “*chicos y chicas*” meaning a neutral “boys” and “girls.” The gray color of the square is equally lost in the Spanish translation. Similarly, Joe Harland’s landlady’s *gray hand* (148) becomes just a *mano* (“hand”) in the Spanish versions, or the *grayfaced throngs* become “*pálidas*” (“pale”) and not “*grises*” (ibid); When analyzed in isolation it is a perfectly valid rendering. However, in the context of *Manhattan Transfer* and Dos Passos’s recurrent use of the word *gray*, this translation option is not optimal; a repetition of the Spanish word *gris* would be more

in tune with the author's expressive intention and poetics.

Light and colour are essential elements in *Manhattan Transfer*. The recurrent *yellow light* in the English version sometimes loses its colour to become just "light" or something totally different, like when it's translated as "relámpago." Furthermore, when omissions of this kind happen —words or images that are constantly present in the text— we come across what Berman referred to as the "destruction of underlying networks of signification" (7). In these instances, "signifiers themselves have no particular value, that what *makes sense* is their linkage" (ibid 8).

Another interesting example of the destruction of linguistic patternings is the case of Bud Korpenning's obsession with "*getting to the center of things*." A runaway just arrived in the city from the countryside, this character keeps repeating this sentence almost each time he appears in the novel (16; 33; 34; 49), until he finally quits and the recurring phrase becomes "*cant go nowhere now*," (119) which is repeated three times in the same paragraph like a *mantra* just before he commits suicide. Let's see what has happened with these segments in the Spanish versions.

Table 20.- Destruction of linguistic patternings (2)

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|--|--|--|--|
| I want to get to the center of things (16) | Quiero ir al centro (12) | Quiero ir al centro, al centro mismo de todas las cosas (10) | Quiero ir al centro, al centro de todas las cosas (10) |
| If I could git more into the center of things (33) | Si pudiera meterme en el mismo centro (34) | Tengo que llegar al centro, al meollo de todo (38) | Tengo que llegar al centro, al meollo de todo (32) |
| Is that kinder the center of things? (34) | ¿es ahí el centro de los negocios? (35) | ¿Es ahí el centro de los negocios? (39) | ¿Es ahí el centro de los negocios? (33) |
| He walked [...] downtown towards the center of things (49) | Marchando siempre hacia el centro de los negocios (53) | Marchando siempre hacia el centro, allí donde estaban todas las cosas (63) | Marchando siempre hacia el centro, allí donde estaban todas las cosas (52) |

As can be seen from the above table, “the center of things” has been translated into Spanish in three different ways in the case of Robles’s 1929 version, and in four different ways in the currently available editions. Regarding the second recurrent phrase in Bud Korpening’s stream of consciousness “*cant go anywhere now*”, it is rendered into Spanish as “*ya no puedo ir a ninguna parte.*” This translation is used the first two times, but the last one, which marks the end of the paragraph and symbolically, the end of Bud’s life, was translated as “*ya no puedo ir a parte alguna.*” This happens in every Spanish version under analysis, from 1929 to 2009; from my point of view it constitutes an unnecessary change in the target text which does not respect the novel’s network of signification.

5.4.5. *Lost in translation*

So far I have dealt with examples of questionable translation options that may constitute areas for improvement, but that generally convey the overall meaning and tone of the source text. However, there are also instances in the Spanish versions under study where the translated segments offer a different meaning from that of the original, or simply fail to convey it. I am referring here to either translation mistakes based on a poor understanding of the source text or a careless reading/rendering, or which are the result of poor translation strategies that clearly fail to render the meaning or the linguistic patternings of the original. As I will show below, in some of these cases the 1929 edition was correct but has been wrongly —and wrongfully— changed; in other cases, all editions replicate the same errors.

5.4.5.1. *Translation mistakes*

Let us begin with two examples of translation mistakes that are present in the three editions under study. The examples are shown in Table 21 below.

Table 21.- Translation mistakes present in the three editions.

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|---|--|--|---|
| Billy whose people are for Roosevelt and not for Parker like mother | Billy, cuyos padres están por Roosevelt y no por Parker, como mamá (78)... | Billy, cuyos padres están por Roosevelt y no por Parker, como mamá (95)... | Billy, cuyos padres están por Roosevelt y no por Parker, como mamá (78) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Faces, hats, hands, newspapers jiggled in the fetid roaring subway car like corn in a popper. The downtown express passed clattering in yellow light, window telescoping window till they overlapped like scales. (232) | Caras, sombreros, manos, periódicos, saltan en el metro fétido y trepidante, como maíz en la sartén. El exprés descendente pasó rugiendo, como un relámpago. Las ventanas se enchufaron hasta encaballarse unas sobre otras como escamas. (276) | Caras, sombreros, manos, periódicos, saltan en el metro fétido y trepidante, como maíz en la sartén. El expreso pasó rugiendo, como un relámpago, las ventanas encabalgándose entre sí hasta superponerse como escamas. (352) | Caras, sombreros, manos, periódicos, saltan en el metro fétido y trepidante, como maíz en la sartén. El expreso pasó rugiendo, como un relámpago. Las ventanas se enchufaron hasta encaballarse unas sobre otras como escamas. (280) |
|---|---|---|--|

In the first example, taken from the scene where Jimmy Herf, as a child, is arriving in New York Harbour from Europe, the word “*people*” has been translated into Spanish for “*padres*” which may mean either “fathers” or “parents,” but not “people.” This is particularly striking because next in the sentence Jimmy’s mother is mentioned, so the reader may get the idea that Jimmy has two or more fathers and one mother, which is obviously not the case.

In the second example, there is a combination of translation issues; first, the word “*downtown*” is translated as if the train was “descending” in the 1929 Spanish edition, whereas the direction of the train is omitted in the other two versions. A possible translation would have been “en dirección al centro” in this case. The second problem has to do with the alteration of the punctuation of the sentence, combined with the translation of “*passed clattering in yellow light*” for “*pasó rugiendo, como un relámpago.*” Here, the rendering of “yellow light” as “lightning,” turns the disagreeable image of artificial *yellow* light into one which is produced by natural elements, and which is often used as an image of speed and movement, not necessarily a chromatic one.

The difficult “*window telescoping window*” is an example of a very clear visual image in English which is hard to convey in Spanish, a language not so flexible in word-formation. In all three versions the image of the telescope has been substituted by other less visual options, such as “enchufarse” or “encabalgarse.” A possible rendering would be “ventana surge tras ventana en telescopio,” or “un telescopio de ventana tras ventana,” though these lack the conciseness of the English image. Finally, “*till they overlapped like scales*” is rendered into Spanish with a complicated “*hasta encaballarse/encabalgarse como escamas*,” where a simple “*hasta solaparse como escamas*” would have been more in tune with the source text.

There are other instances where the 1929 edition had rendered the meaning adequately, and further editions inexplicably changed the target text for no apparent reason. Examples of this are included in the next table.

Table 22.- Translation mistakes that appear in later editions (1)

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ed Thatcher sat hunched over the pianokeys picking out the Mosquito Parade (28) | Ed Thatcher, encorvado sobre las teclas del piano, trataba de sacar la Parada del mosquito (27) | Ed Thatcher, encorvado sobre las teclas del piano, trataba de interpretar El vuelo del moscardón (29) | Ed Thatcher, encorvado sobre las teclas del piano, trataba de interpretar El vuelo del moscardón (25) |
| ‘Where’s a doctor?’ | --¿Dónde hay un doctor... | --¿Dónde hay un médico?... | --¿Dónde hay un doctor?... |
| ‘That’s hell to pay ole fella!’ (42) | --¡Va a costar un huevo! (43) | --¡Va a ser difícilillo! (51) | --¡Va a ser difícilillo! (42) |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| 'Big snake appears on Fifth Avenue...Ladies screamed and ran in all directions this morning at eleven thirty when a big snake crawled out of a crack in the masonry of the retaining wall of the reservoir at Fifth Avenue and Fortysecond Street and started to cross the sidewalk...' | —Un culebrón aparece en la Quinta Avenida...Esta mañana a las once y media, las mujeres escaparon gritando a la vista de un culebrón que, saliendo por una grieta del muro del depósito de aguas, empezó a cruzar la acera en la esquina de la Quinta Avenida con la calle 42... | —Una gran culebra aparece en la Quinta Avenida...Esta mañana a las once y media, las mujeres escaparon gritando al ver una culebra que, tras salir por una grieta del muro del depósito de aguas, empezó a cruzar la acera en la esquina de la Quinta Avenida con la calle Cuarenta y dos... | —Un culebrón aparece en la Quinta Avenida...Esta mañana a las once y media, las mujeres escaparon gritando a la vista de un culebrón que, saliendo por una grieta del muro del depósito de aguas, empezó a cruzar la acera en la esquina de la Quinta Avenida con la calle 42... |
| 'Some fish story...' | —Un camelo | —Algún bromista. | —Algún bromista. |
| 'That ain't nothin,' said an old man. 'When I was a boy we used to go snipe shootin on Blooklyn Flats...' (29) | —Eso no tiene ná de particular—dijo un viejo—, cuando yo era un chico tirábamos a los becardones en Brooklyn. (28) | —Eso no tiene na de particular—dijo un viejo—, cuando yo era un chico íbamos a tirar piedras a la gente en Brooklyn. (31) | —Eso no tiene na de particular—dijo un viejo—, cuando yo era un chico tirábamos piedras a la gente en Brooklyn. (26) |

The above examples need little explanation. Changing the *Mosquito Parade*, a light, 1989 popular song by Howard Whitney into *El Vuelo del Moscardón* or, in English, *Flight of the Bumblebee*, an orchestral interlude written by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov for his opera *The Tale of Tsar Saltan*, composed in 1899–1900, is a striking translation error. Not only the name of the piece has been changed but, along with it, part of the character's attributes. If Ellen's father is trying to "pick out" the *Mosquito Parade*, it derives that his ability as a pianist is likely to be limited, his musical taste, popular, and his mood, lively.

The doctor's example is a hilarious case that indicates editors at some point decided the frank language in the 1929 edition needed some milding, but it seems that in doing so, they did not make a careful check with the original. The correct, colloquial rendering (and somewhat rude) “¡*Va a costar un huevo!*” for “*That's hell to pay olle fella*” (aptly translated by Robles in 1929) turned into the weak, almost ridiculous “*Va a ser difícilillo*” (“it's gonna be a little difficult”) which, additionally, fails to include sociological reference to doctors being expensive in New York.

One of the themes in *Manhattan Transfer* is the expansion of the city into areas that had once been uninhabited, where wildlife and nature were being replaced by buldings and tracks. In this context, the old man recalls *shootin snipes* in Brooklyn when he was a boy. A snipe is “a wading bird of marshes and wet meadows, with brown camouflaged plumage, a long straight bill, and typically a drumming display flight.” The old man here is just reinforcing the idea that not so long ago, wildlife was present in New York and so the finding of a big snake in Fifth Avenue is not so “fishy” for him. Regarding the later versions, the translators/editors probably understood the sentence differently based on the meaning of the verb “to snipe” which is “to shoot at someone from a hiding place.” Less striking but also wrong, is the rendering of “*fishy story*” for “*algún bromista*” (“some joker”).

Let's now take a look at those instances in which none of the editions seem to manage a truly faithful rendering, despite revisions through the years. Here is an example where the first part of the sentence in Robles's 1929 translation has been unnecessarily modified in Edhasa's 2005 version, whereas the second part, where there would have been room for other options, has remained untouched. I am referring here to the phrase “*laid out with our toes to the daisies*,” rendered in Spanish as “*comiendo tierra*” (“eating

soil”). Although this metaphor is understood in its context, there is another common metaphor for being dead and buried in Spanish which includes reference to flowers and therefore is part of the same semantic field as the “daisies,” which is “criando malvas” (“growing mallows”).

In the last example of this series, a typographical error turned the translation of “crusty” for “costra” (1929) into “costa” (“coast”), failing to convey the image of a crusty surface over the water. Furthermore, the repetition in the original “*narrowing, narrowing,*” which was reproduced in the 1929 edition, has been removed in current editions, in an example of unnecessary rationalization in the target text, which I shall deal with in the next section.

Table 23.- Translation mistakes that appear in later editions (2)

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|---|--|---|---|
| People'll be goin round in flying machines by that time and you and me'll be laid out with our toes to the daisies (76) | Para entonces la gente andará en aeroplano y tú y yo estaremos ya comiendo tierra (86) | Para entonces la gente tendrá aeroplanos en el jardín y tú y yo estaremos comiendo tierra (107) | Para entonces la gente andará en aeroplano y tú y yo estaremos comiendo tierra (87) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Streak of water crusted with splinters, groceryboxes, orangepeel, cabbageleaves, narrowing, narrowing between the boat and the dock (71) | Una faja de agua con una costra de astillas, de cajones, de mondas de naranja, de hojas de berza, se estrecha y se estrecha entre el barco y el muelle (79-80) | Una faja de agua con una costa de astillas, de cajones, de mondas de naranja, de hojas de berza, se estrecha y se estrecha entre el barco y el muelle (92) | Una faja de agua con una costa de astillas, de cajones, de mondas de naranja, de hojas de berza, se estrecha y se estrecha entre el barco y el muelle (82) |
|---|---|---|--|

So far we have dealt with changes to Robles's 1929 translation in later editions which did not respond to any self-evident reason, seemingly of a rather subjective character. However, there are other instances where the revised versions in later editions have contributed to a better understanding of the text. Here follow two examples in which the changes mean improvements, since the 1929 versions were unintelligible.

Table 24.- Nonsense corrected in later editions

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|--|--|--|---|
| Yessir these ain't the champagne suppers we used to have in Frisco | -Ah si, no son estos los champañanas suppers de Frisco(42) | -¡Ah sí! Nada que ver con aquellas cenas en Frisco (49) | -¡Ah sí! Nada que ver con aquellas cenas en Frisco* (*) Abreviatura de San Francisco (41) |
| (63)...the Majestic and the Teutonic too sir, fahne ships both, tough a bit light'eaded in a sea as you might say | ...y en el Majestic y en el Teutonic también, señor, buenos barcos los dos, aunque un sí es no es atolondraos por decirlo jasí (73) | ...y en el Majestic y en el Teutonic también, señor, buenos barcos los dos, aunque un poco atolondraos por decirlo jasí (90) | ...y en el Majestic y en el Teutonic también, señor, buenos barcos los dos, aunque un sí es no es atolondraos por decirlo jasí (74) |

In the first example, the “*champagne suppers*” refer to celebration suppers that used to be served with champagne to drink, the French style. As shown in the table, the Spanish rendering in the 1929 edition makes no sense, whereas the other two can at least be understood, despite the loss regarding the specific type of dinners. The footnote about “Frisco” referring to “San Francisco” in Debolsillo 2009 is useful for the Spanish reader if unfamiliar with the short form of the city name. In the second example, Robles brought the seaman’s speech to such a colloquial rendering in the 1929 translation that it is hard to understand. The simplification of “*un sí es no es atolondrao*” by “*un poco atolondrao*” is more easily read and understood.

5.4.5.2. *Rationalization*

For Berman, as explained in Chapter 4, “rationalization” occurs when the translator “recomposes sentences and the sequence of sentences, rearranging them according to a certain idea of discursive *order*” (4). This translation tendency bears mainly with punctuation. In the case of *Manhattan Transfer*, the descriptive passages often follow a free sentence structure, but the translators/editors have invariably tended to destroy it through rationalization, by “reversing” its basic tendency (ibid 5).

There are many examples of this in the 1929 translation, and in most cases these have remained until today. Editors/translators of later editions seem to have focused on revising lexis rather than paragraph organization. Rationalization in the texts under study may involve punctuation only, or punctuation combined with other translation tendencies which deform the text, such as the destruction of rhythms and linguistic patternings.

One of the systematic and most evident changes in punctuation I have found when comparing Dos Passos's text with Robles's of 1929 is the substitution of commas in juxtaposed clauses —characteristic of Dos Passos's writing in *Manhattan Transfer*—for periods. Some examples of this can be found in Table 25 on the next page:

The examples show how commas (or a semi-collon in the second case) in the English source text have been replaced by periods, to adapt it to a more standard form of paragraph organization in Spanish.

Table 25.- Altered punctuation

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | EDAHASA 2005 | DEBOLSILLO 2009 |
|--|--|--|--|
| Glowworn trains shuttle in the gloaming through the foggy looms of spiderweb bridges, elevators soar and drop in their shafts, harbor lights wink. (276) | Al atardecer trenes luciérnagas, van y vienen entre la niebla por las lanzaderas de los enmarañados puentes. Los ascensores suben y bajan. Las luces del puerto parpadean. (324) | Al atardecer trenes luciérnagas, van y vienen entre la niebla por las lanzaderas de los enmarañados puentes. Los ascensores suben y bajan. Las luces del puerto parpadean. (419) | Al atardecer trenes luciérnagas, van y vienen entre la niebla por las lanzaderas de los enmarañados puentes. Los ascensores suben y bajan. Las luces del puerto parpadean. (333) |
| A man with a can of coaloil brushes past him, a greasy sleeve brushes against his shoulder, smells of sweat and coaloil; suppose he's a firebug (83) | Un hombre con una lata de petróleo le roza al pasar. Una manga grasienta le roza el hombro. Olor a sudor y petróleo. ¡Si fuera un incendiario! (95) | Un hombre con una lata de petróleo le roza al pasar. Una manga grasienta le roza el hombro. Olor a sudor y petróleo. ¡Si fuera un incendiario! (118-19) | Un hombre con una lata de petróleo le roza al pasar. Una manga grasienta le roza el hombro. Olor a sudor y petróleo. ¡Si fuera un incendiario! (95) |

The effect of simultaneity and fast speed at which the action is narrated which is conveyed by the syntax of the source text is turned into a series of successive, separate elements in the Spanish target text with the introduction of three independent sentences separated by periods, destroying the rhythm of the source text and its characteristic linguistic patternings in an unnecessary way.

I will now give some examples of cases in which Dos Passos's syntactical organization has been altered in the Spanish rendering, involving this time not only punctuation, but a change of focus in the action and, in some cases, the simplification of the source text in the approach to the translation of difficult segments. In the right column, I have included a translation alternative for each of the segments. The purpose of providing these alternatives is by no means to suggest a "better" translation, but to indicate that it is possible to use a translation approach which is more respectful of the source text and that recreates its linguistic patternings in the Spanish target text.

Table 26.- Destruction of rhythms

| PENGUIN 1987 | CENIT 1929 | SUGGESTED TRANSLATION |
|--|--|--|
| When Emile came out of the back door of the restaurant he found Congo waiting for him sitting on the doorstep. Congo's skin had a green chilly look under the frayed turned up coat collar. (43) | Cuando Emile salió por la puerta trasera del restaurant encontró a Congo que le esperaba sentado en un escalón, con el cuello de la chaqueta subido. Su tez estaba de un verde que daba frío. (45) | Cuando Emile salió por la parte trasera del restaurante se encontró a Congo esperándole sentado en el escalón de la puerta. La piel de Congo tenía un aspecto verde y frío tras el cuello subido de su chaqueta raída. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Laughing, Jimmy Herf turned his back on the snowshovelers and started walking up Broadway, leaning into the wind with his chin buried in his coat collar. (309) | Riendo, Jimmy Herf les volvió la espalda a los que traspalaban nieve y empezó a subir por Broadway. Iba inclinado contra el viento, con la barbilla enterrada en el cuello del gabán. (373) | Riéndose, Jimmy Herf dejó atrás a los que traspalaban nieve y empezó a subir por Broadway, inclinado contra el viento con la barbilla enterrada en el cuello del gabán. (373) |
|---|---|---|

5.4.5.3. *History, newsreels and songs*

Literary scholar Richard Layman quite rightly suggested that one of the more interesting aspects of *Manhattan Transfer* for modern-day readers is to look at it as “social history,” since the novel is full of contemporary references in the form of song lyrics, newspaper articles and contemporary stage presentations, among other elements such as fashion and social customs (cf. Layman 115-16). Two other elements noted by Layman (cf. *ibid*) which are crucial in the novel, namely national and world events to mark time in the novel and the social geography of New York in the late 1890s and early 1900s, are at times difficult to trace by the average Spanish reader without some form of guidance. This feature is a good example of what Lefevere identified as a translation problem related to the source culture’s “universe of discourse.” In his own words: “On the universe-of-discourse level, translators may be faced with things, customs, and concepts that were immediately intelligible to the readers of the original but are no longer intelligible to prospective readers of the translation” (*Translating Literature* 88).

The frequent use of popular song verses as intertext —as if a radio or gramophone was always playing in the background— is a key element that contributes to contextualize and give the novel sociological depth.

This textual feature poses some translation dilemmas, regarding two aspects. The first one is the fact that, being mostly American popular songs, their lyrics will rarely be recognized by the average Spanish reader (with few exceptions such as “*For he’s a jolly good fellow*,” the Spanish version of which is popularly known). The second one is that there are no indications in the text that they are actually song verses, so that the introduction of these intertexts is unmarked. The combination of the two makes the translation approach difficult. Furthermore, the sociological, chronological and real-life jazz-age component that songs provide in *Manhattan Transfer* is lost when the song verses are translated and no recognizable Spanish version of the song exists. The examples are abundant throughout the text, but let us analyze one fragment of the novel regarding this matter.

The opening of Chapter I of the third section of *Manhattan Transfer* announces the end of the Great War. Relatively long as compared to other chapter openings of the novel, this descriptive passage is intertwined by verses of popular War songs, namely *It’s a long way to Tipperary*, *Mademoiselle from Armenteurs* and *Son of a Gambolier*. These intertexts constitute one of the translation challenges of this passage, the main one being that World War I songs might not have reached neutral Spain, at least not as World War II songs did years later, made especially popular through Hollywood films. Robles must have considered that the average Spanish reader would not recognize in those lines the verses of any songs, nor the allusion to the Great War, since his strategy in the first two cases was, in Berman’s terms, a naturalization of the foreign element; the translator substituted the song verses in English [“Oh it’s a long way to Tipperary... Over there! Over there!” and “There’s a long long trail awinding... Over there! Over there!” (247)] by two lines that could have been perhaps part of a popular Spanish army song [“Un

camino largo, largo que serpea... ¡Allá abajo! ¡Allá Abajo!” (Robles 291)] but of which we have found no trace. There could have been two other translation alternatives in this particular case: either to leave the verses in English —just as the songs were sung in 1919, an approach followed by *Manhattan Transfer*’s French translator Maurice Coindreau⁵⁰— or to offer a more literal rendering of the lines so that at least the name “Tipperary,” an Irish town, might leave a track to the original song in English.

In contrast, song titles were left in their original English or French form as in “*Les bourgeois à la lanterne, nom de Dieu*” (55), or the reference to the song “*The Bastard King of England*” (68). Modern Spanish versions follow Robles’s approach; song verses have been translated. And no changes seem to have been made in their wording.

From today’s perspective, I think the most effective translation approach would be to leave the song verses untranslated, since translating the lyrics into Spanish does not really contribute to a better understanding of the novel, but instead impoverishes the text by eliminating the possibility of actually ‘hearing’ the music Dos Passos meant to associate to *Manhattan Transfer*.

Finally, some U.S. and world events can be traced in *Manhattan Transfer* mostly in the form of newspaper headlines or references in dialogues. For American scholar Craig Carver, such references “lead at least indirectly to the creation of a chronological framework composed of the dated fragments from newspaper sources and upon which all the other fragments of the novel could be positioned” (qtd. in Clark 98). It has been noted, however, that the order in which events are presented is not strictly chronological, but “clearly, in using these historical references, Dos Passos’s primary concern is with

⁵⁰ See Dos Passos, John [trans. Maurice Coindreau]. *Manhattan Transfer*. Paris: Gallimard 1928.

providing a historical perspective, a sociological ‘depth’ to the fictional events, rather than establishing a ‘solid framework’.”(ibid 99)

To name but a few, the reader comes across the 1896 Governor Morton’s signature of the Greater New York bill at the beginning of the novel; the inauguration in 1897 of President McKinley; the various wars (1898 Spanish-American War; 1899-1902 Philippine-American War; 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War), etc. In some instances, these references are only tangential, like for example the headline “RELIEVE PORT ARTHUR IN FACE OF ENEMY” (27) which refers to the siege suffered by Port Arthur (in the Yellow Sea) during the Russo-Japanese War; here the reader is expected to know about this particular historical detail in order to understand the headline in context. (For a more comprehensive list of historical events in *Manhattan Transfer*, see Appendix III).

The average contemporary reader will not be familiar with many of the historical characters and events present, so it would be interesting to produce an annotated version of the novel, in which this rich world of events and references —so important for a full reading of Dos Passos—, is not lost. This need is even greater for readers from outside the American cultural system. In this way, the reader would know the extent to which fact and fiction intermingle in *Manhattan Transfer*.

The life of a literary work somehow resembles the life of people. Who your parents are, your home town, your native country, places you travel to, the people you meet along the way –those who love you and those who do not; all of them make your fate. In both cases, what others think and say about you seems to become what you are worth. And then one day, you fade away to become what others recall about you, until eventually the echoes of their voices turn you into a representation of their own selves.

CONCLUSIONS

Comparative literature, in its broadest sense, involves the study of the literary work across boundaries of all kinds: geographical, cultural, linguistic, and in relation to other disciplines. John Dos Passos is a fascinating writer from a comparatist perspective. The interests Dos Passos cultivated in his youth —visual arts and architecture, travel, politics, history— fed his works in a way that makes their analysis in relation with other disciplines, other countries, other cultures, an extremely interesting area for research.

In the Spanish construction of John Dos Passos through the years, *Manhattan Transfer* has played such a central role that both writer and novel have become an inseparable pair and they, in turn, have become a part of our socio-cultural and literary systems. Following a descriptive approach in my research into the translations of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain, I have identified some keys to understand the mechanisms that have contributed to our unique perception of this novel and hence, of John Dos Passos.

John Dos Passos felt fascinated by Spain from his first visit to our country as a young Harvard graduate in 1916. When in Spain, he immersed himself in the art, literature and architecture, enjoyed the scenery and the food, and made friends for a lifetime. His Spanish writings are a good proof of all this; Dos Passos had an impressive insider knowledge of our culture and society, and he ‘felt’ Spain with passion. In *The Best*

Times, his memoirs, Spain is present throughout. Quite significantly, the book opens with some early childhood memories of his father and the recollections of his first trip to Madrid as a young student, and finishes with an episode which happened during his 1933 trip to Spain with his first wife Katy. Writing about one of his stays in Spain (in 1921), he recalled:

As a correspondent for a labor paper I wasn't much of a success. Though I was thoroughly interested in syndicalism and socialism and trade union matters, I was continually distracted by scenery and painting and architecture and the *canto hondo* and the grave rhythms of flamenco dancing. And the people, the people, the infinitely tragical, comical, pathetic and laughable varieties of people. (*The Best Times* 81)

The image of Spain in Dos Passos's writings, both fiction and non-fiction, is full of fascination for this country; but his writings also reflect the contradictions and the complexity of the Spain he knew so well and was genuinely concerned about. Today, almost fifty years after his death, Dos Passos is still present in the Spanish polysystem, although not many know about his works of Spanish inspiration. In Spain, Dos Passos is invariably associated to *Manhattan Transfer* by the general reading public.

The initial aim of my research was to find reasons for the centrality of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain as compared with other works by Dos Passos, where it is commonly referred to as his masterpiece. An analysis of its publishing history as compared with other major works by the American writer showed that the number of editions and/or reprints of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain more than double the U.S.A. trilogy, for example.

Manhattan Transfer was first published in 1925 when Dos Passos was only 29 years of age. The publication of the novel in America positioned him as one of the most

innovative writers of his time, and meant the beginning of a period of immense popularity which would reach its peak with the publication of the *U.S.A.* trilogy in 1938, when Sartre wrote that Dos Passos was “the greatest writer of our time” (qtd. in Sanders 302). Dos Passos’s career as a writer may be divided into two distinct periods. His early years marked by extensive travel to various parts of the world including Spain plus a political commitment to the left, and his mature years, mostly spent at his Baltimore home, when he became more interested in history and American politics with a conservative perspective.

I researched into the Spanish reception of Dos Passos’s early years as a writer, but also looking at what American critics have said about his works and, more particularly, about *Manhattan Transfer*. A summary of the American reception served as a background against which the peculiarities of the Spanish reception could be analyzed. Regarding its early reception, the main lines of interpretation were essentially the same both in American and Spanish criticism, leading us to think that American critics exerted some influence on Spanish critics. Right after its publication in the United States, *Manhattan Transfer* received mixed criticism. Some reputed writers and critics praised it for its innovative themes, language and techniques, exactly the same reasons why others disliked it. Sinclair Lewis and Scott Fitzgerald, among others, were among Dos Passos’s writer-friends that contributed to his recognition in those early years. The next decade confirmed Dos Passos as a great writer in the U.S. With time, it has become generally accepted by American critics that *Manhattan Transfer* was the foreword to Dos Passos’s best fiction, exemplified in the *U.S.A.* trilogy. The novel’s status in the U.S. today is that of a modernist urban novel that has played an important role in the forging of 20th century American identity.

In Spain, the early reception of *Manhattan Transfer* was an extremely positive one, as seen in the reviews by José Robles Pazos, Francisco Ayala and *La Revista Blanca*; Hemingway’s testimony regarding Dos Passos’ popularity in Spain in 1931 saying “nobody

has read *Manhattan* less than four times” confirms this fact. However, there is also evidence of a not so warm reception by other, less influential critics; Salaverría in *ABC* acknowledged the novel’s literary worth but longed for the old times of Emerson, Whitman or James, regretting the moral transformations in American society; Andrenio in *La Voz* was impressed by the extraordinary intuitive force of its scenes but disliked what he considered to be “lack of structure.” In the years that followed, all Spanish critics writing about *Manhattan Transfer* have invariably had a positive view. However, despite the novel’s popularity, few in-depth or extensive studies have been published, other than Gualberto’s article on urban representations and the rethoric of sickness (2011), and the prologues to the various editions; among them, Rojas (1964), Gopegui (1995), Vargas Llosa (1989) and Fuentes (2000), which have all contributed to a positive reception of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain from different perspectives. Today, it is considered a modernist novel that has survived extremely well over the years; it is praised for its technique but also for its validity. Fascination for the New York of the early 20th century is probably one of the reasons for the popularity of the novel in Spain; in fact, there are recent examples where the city of New York both as a setting and as a theme is present in Spanish literature, as in *El hombre que inventó Manhattan* by Ray Loriga (2004), or in *Ventanas de Manhattan* by Antonio Muñoz Molina (2004), for example. The influence of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spanish literature is yet to be explored in depth, beyond its influence on Cela’s *La Colmena* (1951), an idea which has been generally accepted by critics. The Spanish Civil War stalled much of the publishing activity in Spain between 1936 and the 1950s, and with the exception of *Rocinante vuelve al camino* (1930) and *Manhattan Transfer* (1929), other Dos Passos’s works were not published until the late 1950s, something which may have contributed to the strong association of Dos Passos with his 1925 New York novel.

In the framework of the descriptive analysis of the Spanish translations of *Manhattan Transfer*, I have provided a diachronic overview of the sociocultural contexts in which they were published. The publishing history of the novel in Spain has been looked at as a reflection of the country's history, and the analysis of the different editions under study has been illustrated by the various circumstances in which they were published.

The socio-cultural and political context in which *Manhattan Transfer* first entered the Spanish cultural system combined with Dos Passos's popularity in Spanish intellectual circles in the 1920s and 30s had a positive influence on the novel's initial success. The fact that it was published by Cenit—a communist publisher—during the agonizing reign of Alfonso XIII and Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship gave Dos Passos the status of a leftist writer that has pervaded though time; his political shift has not affected his reputation as a writer in Spain. That first edition in 1929, with a reprint in 1930, was a paperback with an urban illustration on the front cover; the translation approach by Robles was characterized by his efforts to convey the vivacity of Dos Passos's characters, including the frank, vulgar language of the *bajos fondos*, as Hemingway had put it in his 1931 letter to Dos Passos. Furthermore, the friends Dos Passos had made during his first stay in Madrid, many of them connected to the Residencia de Estudiantes, gave him a highly reputed status in the Spanish intellectual circles that made him a well known, respected author.

The Spanish Civil War played a determining role in the reception of John Dos Passos as a writer both in America and in Spain, but with different effects; in the U.S., Dos Passos's political shift triggered by the execution of Pepe Robles made him less and less popular among critics, fellow writers and the reading public by the end of the 1930s and his status was never fully recovered; by contrast, in Spain, Robles's death linked Dos Passos and *Manhattan Transfer* to our historical and cultural identity. The story of the

Hemingway-Dos Passos-Robles triangle during the Spanish Civil War has been dealt with at length by other scholars and critics. The fact that much has already been said about it does not however make it less interesting. From Baggio to Martínez de Pisón and recently filmmaker Sonia Tercero, it has interested a whole generation of scholars and readers and it has translated into a renewed interest in the author of *Manhattan Transfer*, hence in the novel itself. Also, contributing to this continuing interest, *Manhattan Transfer* is associated in our mind with some of the cultural and political milestones in 20th century Spain through the lives of John Dos Passos and its original translator, José Robles Pazos. The literary life at the cafés or “tertulias”, student life at *Residencia de estudiantes*, the spirit of liberal educators at *Institución Libre de enseñanza*, marked a whole generation of Spanish scholars, artists and writers who later experienced the war with all its consequences (executions, exile, political repression). Dos Passos was a witness to the Spanish civil war and found himself “tangled” in the horror of innocent deaths through the loss of his best Spanish friend, Pepe Robles. Mercedes Pacheco, the Galician translator of *Manhattan Transfer*, wrote the following lines in her prologue to the Galician edition, which includes the characteristic elements in the Spanish construction of John Dos Passos:

...falar de *Manhattan Transfer* é falar de modernidade (...); falar de *Manhattan Transfer* implica recoñecer a mestria dunha morea de palabras que agochan a rebeldia e inconformismo dum home de tendências de esquerdas, amigo da República española e conocedor de Institución Libre de Enseñanza da man do seu grande amigo José Giner; falar de *Manhattan Transfer* é falar dun home amante das liberdades e inimigo das ataduras materiais e sociais que asfixian a masa humana. (159)

The story of the execution of José Robles has become an illustrative example of what Sánchez León referred to as the interest in the individuals as protagonists of our history in Spanish Civil War narratives.⁵¹ Had Robles been an anonymous character, his story might have been just one more among the many similar personal stories of illegal detentions, disappearances and executions during the Spanish Civil War. However, John Dos Passos's search for his translator José Robles made his case uniquely relevant in our cultural system; the numerous revisitings of the episode in Spanish media keep linking the American writer to our historical identity, turning Dos Passos into a respected icon as someone who empathized with the dramas of the Spanish people during the Civil War. This dramatic, true story has had two unexpected side-effects. On the one hand, José Robles has been invariably praised as *the* translator of John Dos Passos (although he only translated one of his works), and the Spanish translation of *Manhattan Transfer* has become the unquestionable flagship of Dos Passos's works in our country. On the other, the early 1930s image of John Dos Passos as a leftist writer, a supporter of the Spanish Republic, has remained almost intact through time. 21st century Spanish critics and opinion makers have been so insistent on this single story of John Dos Passos, José Robles and *Manhattan Transfer*, that it has become central and foremost in today's Spanish construction of the American writer and his works. Unlike in the U.S., his political disillusionment is rarely present in recent criticism.

Censorship is a distinctive feature in the Spanish reception of *Manhattan Transfer* which was determined by political circumstances. In my research I have been able to trace the various files banning or permitting the printing and circulation of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain under Franco's regime, and the extent to which such censoring affected the first

⁵¹ See pages 158-9.

authorized edition of *Manhattan Transfer* in 1957. In the case of this particular work, censorship did not have a strong impact, except of course the official banning of the novel from 1948 (date of the first denied application before the censorship authorities) to 1957, when the novel was authorized.

From the mid 1950s Planeta managed to publish previously banned books, among them *Manhattan Transfer*. The physical embodiment of Planeta's edition corresponds to the taste of those years, in which books in the bookshelves of homes were a symbol of economic and cultural status, and these were expected to look fine as a decorative item. Thus, *Manhattan Transfer* left behind its proletarian look and became a hard covered, bible-paper edition with gold letters. Some of the language was softened, and a few dialogues including blasphemies and/or overtly sexual scenes were slightly changed. In the 1960s the novel's edition lost its "underground" appearance and acquired the status of a respectable, classic bestseller, present in the bookshelves of many Spanish middleclass homes.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the publication of various editions of *Manhattan Transfer*, credited either to José Robles Pazos or to the non-existent José Robles Piquer. The fact that publishers of *Manhattan Transfer* have incorporated both quantitative and qualitative changes in the Spanish versions through the years —still crediting the translation to Robles Pazos or, even worse, to a non existing Robles Piquer— is an indication that translation rights have not been respected. An analysis of the different versions shows that there are at least four different versions of *Manhattan Transfer* available to Spanish readers today.

Paperback editions of the novel co-exist today with hardbacks, and some prestigious writers have been asked to write prologues, notably Mario Vargas Llosa or Carlos Fuentes, among others. The most obvious textual changes in the Spanish texts include some

updating of the more old-fashioned expressions, and the systematic use of italics for foreign words or phrases. Changes are now evident with respect to the original 1929 version. The novel maintains its reputation and has consolidated its position as a classic, with almost-yearly reprints in the last fifteen years.

From a textual perspective, *Manhattan Transfer* is a good example of the difficulties posed by the translation of novels as noted by Berman.⁵² His description of what at times may seem a lack of control lack on the part of great prose writers, a “lack of control” which “derives from the enormous linguistic mass that the prose writer must squeeze into the work—at the risk of making it formally explode,” could well have been written to refer to Dos Passos’s style in the novel. The most obvious challenges in the translation of *Manhattan Transfer* are the characters’ speech in its multiple variations on the one hand, and the impressionistic descriptions characteristic of Dos Passos’s modernist experimental technique, on the other. From my point of view, Robles’s greatest success was the Spanish rendering of the colloquial language, even though the richness of the multicultural element in the source text is impossible to replicate in the target text. However, the spontaneity of the dialogues shows Robles’s mastery of discursive markers to produce realistic conversations --perhaps influenced by the fact that both he and his wife were keen theater-goers. On the contrary, the translation of descriptive passages at times fails to render the impressionistic element, either because of syntactic rationalization or because of impoverishment of the language. Omissions are frequent and some of the translation strategies used have destroyed linguistic patternings characteristic of the novel, such as the use of colors and light, for example. The textual analysis of the translation has shown that there are areas for improvement and enough

⁵² See also pages 50-51 of this thesis on Berman’s theories.

grounds for a revised Spanish edition. Based on evidence provided, the areas for revision would include: (i) descriptive passages with abundant pre-modification and post-modification, particularly those that include colors, smells and sounds, to ensure that Dos Passos' impressionistic style is adequately rendered into Spanish; (ii) fragments where omissions or mistranslations have taken place. Such an edition should ideally consider an annotated translation of the novel, providing the reader with basic guidance through historical characters and events present in newspaper headlines or by allusion in dialogues, etc., together with information on the abundant sociological references (fashion, advertising, songs, etc.) This would allow 21st century Spanish readers for a fuller understanding of the novel.

Regarding areas for further research, it would be of interest to compare the treatment given by censors to other Dos Passos's works or to major modernist novels, such as Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, or Hemingway's *The Sun also Rises*, to determine if they were altered by censors, to what extent and for how long. The field for study is huge and fascinating at the same time.

Regarding the making of the first original translation by Pepe Robles, a comparative analysis of Gallimard's 1928 edition and Cenit's 1929 edition may give us clues on how much he was influenced by Coindreau's translation. Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore if Mágina Villegas, who worked as a translator for Cenit and continued to work as a translator in Mexico until the 1960s, contributed to Robles's translation in any way, perhaps with the help of modern corpus analysis tools.

When we compare the popularity of John Dos Passos in the media —and, generally, among the reading public in Spain—, and the scholarly interest his work has raised, it can be concluded that scarce scholarly research has been carried out on John Dos Passos in recent years. However, journalists and public opinion creators have

succeeded in keeping Dos Passos and *Manhattan Transfer* alive in our cultural system, as shown by the frequent mentioning of both in the Spanish press and Internet sites, personal blogs, etc. However, as Lefevere said, it is “important that the image of a work of literature and the texts that constitute that image be studied alongside its reality.” (*Translating Literature* 14).

TRADUCCIÓN AL ESPAÑOL DE INTRODUCCIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES

INTRODUCCIÓN

1. Motivación

Dentro de los estudios literarios, la literatura traducida ha sido un campo frecuentemente ignorado, ya que tradicionalmente se ha dado prioridad a la creatividad de la obra literaria original, mientras que el texto traducido, como objeto de estudio, a menudo ha quedado relegado a un segundo plano. El teórico de la traducción Lawrence Venuti, al referirse a la marginalidad de la actividad traductora, afirmaba con asombro que la traducción es ignorada incluso por expertos en literatura que basan su actividad docente e investigadora en textos traducidos: “Translation is ignored [...] even by the most sophisticated scholars who must rely on translated texts in their research and teaching” (cf. *Scandals* 32). Sin embargo, el estudio de la literatura traducida en el contexto de la literatura comparada ofrece interesantes posibilidades de investigación.

La invisibilidad del traductor frente al escritor del texto original es un tema de debate siempre presente entre los traductores, no solo en lo relativo a derechos de autor y al insuficiente reconocimiento social de la profesión, sino también desde perspectivas algo más abstractas y filosóficas (cf. Pym 21-44). Independientemente de cómo se aborde la cuestión, la realidad es que, como lectores, rara vez nos planteamos que al leer una traducción realmente no estamos ante la obra tal y como fue concebida por el “autor original”, sino ante la percepción de esa obra recreada por un traductor. Sin embargo, a

pesar de la invisibilidad de los traductores, la literatura traducida desempeña un papel determinante en la construcción de nuestra cultura y, por lo tanto, los traductores y sus obras merecen su espacio en el campo de los estudios literarios.

Según Venuti, esta visión de la traducción como disciplina subordinada se debe, en parte, a la tendencia a venerar las lenguas y literaturas extranjeras hasta extremos irracionales, lo que conduce a que toda traducción termine pareciendo inaceptable (cf. *Scandals* 32). Se puede afirmar que los estudiosos de la traducción hemos contribuido a esta visión, al centrar nuestras investigaciones —con demasiada frecuencia— en detectar “lo que se pierde” al compararlas con los originales. Coincido con Venuti en que este enfoque lingüístico, aunque útil y necesario, ofrece una visión truncada de los datos, ya que no considera los valores sociales que condicionan la práctica traductora y tiende a reducir el estudio de la traducción a la formulación de teorías (cf. *ibid* 31). Dado que toda traducción es el resultado de una combinación de factores que influyen en la comprensión y percepción del texto origen por parte del traductor, considero que el texto traducido no debe abordarse únicamente en términos de rasgos textuales y estrategias de traducción.

Coincido también con el teórico de la traducción André Lefevere y sus colegas de la denominada Escuela de la Manipulación en que al analizar la historia de la literatura, debemos considerar otros factores más allá de la mera interpretación de los textos, tales como el poder, la ideología y la manipulación. Como afirma Lefevere, un enfoque relativista hacia la supuesta “grandeza” de las obras literarias nos llevaría a no conformarnos con ver el canon como algo evidente o de una perfección atemporal, sino que nos permitiría estudiarlo en su evolución histórica.

In such a view of literature the translator can become a technician among others, making texts available for study. The translation scholar can analyze the part played by translation in the constitution and revision of

various canons and in the struggle between various poetics. The translation scholar can analyze the reception of foreign works inside a national literature. (...) They [translation scholars] can take that mechanism [that confers greatness to works of literature] apart (...) and trace its workings through the intermediary of the educational system and the media. (Lefevere, *Translating Literature* 138)

Desde el convencimiento de que cualquier estudio en profundidad del fenómeno literario transfronterizo debe tener en cuenta el estudio de las traducciones, decidí orientar mi investigación en esa dirección. Así, interesados en estudiar el proceso de traducción de una obra literaria, su desplazamiento de una cultura a otra y su evolución en el tiempo, he analizado las traducciones españolas de *Manhattan Transfer* y su recepción crítica, junto con determinadas claves socioculturales que han contribuido a la concepción de John Dos Passos desde una perspectiva española; o parafraseando a Francois Pitavy en su trabajo sobre las traducciones al francés de William Faulkner, a la “construcción” (83) del Dos Passos español.

En mis estudios de doctorado me interesé por la imagen de España en la literatura norteamericana, a través de la obra de Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961) y, sobre todo, de la de John Dos Passos (1896-1970). Los motivos de mi interés por estos autores y su obra incluían, además de los puramente literarios, la fascinación por las circunstancias históricas, culturales y políticas de la España sobre la que escribieron. Como traductora, era inevitable no sentir curiosidad por explorar el modo en el que se habría afrontado la traducción de *lo español* en sus obras.

Ernest Hemingway y John Dos Passos fueron inseparables durante la segunda mitad de la década de 1920, y en los años sucesivos hasta la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939). Amigos íntimos, en aquellos años de juventud compartían no solo su pasión por la

aventura, por viajar y escribir, sino también sus ideas políticas. Sin embargo, no sólo su estilo como escritores era muy diferente, sino también en sus personalidades. El hecho de que su larga amistad se rompiera por causa de las discrepancias que surgieron entre ellos por los graves acontecimientos de la Guerra Civil española ha contribuido a innumerables reescrituras del triángulo Hemingway-España-Dos Passos.

Como lectora, estaba familiarizada con la obra de Hemingway y, a grandes rasgos, sabía de su estrecha relación con España. En cambio, John Dos Passos era nuevo para mí; a través del estudio de sus obras españolas, supe no solo de sus ideas sobre nuestra política, de su modo de ver nuestro arte y nuestra literatura, sino también de su sentido de la amistad y de la lealtad.

Tras estudiar la imagen de España en John Dos Passos, me pregunté cuál sería la imagen de John Dos Passos en España. Me habían impresionado tanto sus obras sobre nuestro país, que pensé que merecía la pena explorar qué quedaba de su personalidad y de su obra en la España del siglo XXI. Inicialmente pensé que tendría suficiente material para mi investigación si me centraba en sus obras españolas, pero no fue así. Las obras de Dos Passos sobre España por lo general no son conocidas por los lectores; nuestros críticos literarios rara vez las mencionan. Por el contrario, su relación con España sí ha llamado la atención de unos pocos expertos e investigadores que han explorado sus obras de inspiración española, sus memorias, cartas y diarios. Entre ellos, cabe citar al crítico y escritor argentino Hector Baggio, a las profesoras Concha Zardoya, Catalina Montes, Pilar Marín Madrazo y Nancy Bredendick y, más recientemente, al escritor Ignacio Martínez de Pisón y a las investigadoras Eulalia Piñero y Alicia Villar; todos ellos han contribuido a un mejor conocimiento de Dos Passos desde una perspectiva española.

Catalina Montes, en su libro *La visión de España en la obra de John Dos Passos* (1980), es la autora que —hasta la fecha— ha dado cuenta de las obras de Dos Passos

sobre España de un modo más pormenorizado, con valiosa información bibliográfica y cronológica⁵³.

Concha Zardoya (Valparaíso, Chile 1914-Madrid, España 2004), escritora, traductora y crítica española —que impartió clases en varias universidades estadounidenses— probablemente fue la pionera en escribir sobre los poemas de inspiración española que el joven Dos Passos había publicado bajo el título *A Pushcart at the Curb* (1922). Dedicó un capítulo de su libro titulado *Verdad, Belleza y Expresión* (1967) a los poemas que había escrito Dos Passos durante sus primeros viajes por España, titulado “La imagen de España en dos poetas norteamericanos.” Zardoya señaló similitudes entre Dos Passos y Baroja, “diríase que Dos Passos ha asimilado un estilo típicamente barojiano” (Zardoya 117 en Bredendick, “Baroja’s Madrid” 154), argumento que fue retomado y ampliado en 1999 por la profesora Nancy Bredendick en su artículo “Baroja’s Madrid in the poems of ‘Winter in Castille’ by John Dos Passos”. Para Bredendick, existen tres elementos en la poesía de Dos Passos que se encuentran también en Baroja: el tono, el tratamiento de la pobreza, y lo erótico (ibid 153-160). Esta autora hace referencia también al cielo de Madrid como un elemento característico común a Baroja y Dos Passos, comparando un fragmento de *Aurora roja* (605-6) con el poema VIII “Paseo de la Castellana” (Dos Passos, *Pushcart* 28).

Dos investigadoras españolas han escrito recientemente sobre *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922). Alicia Villar Lecumberri, una reconocida experta en *El Quijote*, señaló las influencias y huellas de la obra maestra de Cervantes en esta obra temprana de Dos Passos, en su artículo titulado “Sobre *Rocinante vuelve al camino* de John Dos

⁵³ Coincide que, ese mismo año de 1980, Pilar Marín Madrazo publicó *La Gran Guerra en la obra de Hemingway y Dos Passos*, lo que ilustra un periodo de investigación intensa sobre su vida y obras en la Universidad de Salamanca, auspiciado probablemente por el liderazgo del ilustre profesor Juan José Coy.

Passos”. Por su parte, la profesora de Literatura y comparatista Eulalia Piñero Gil también ha investigado sobre *Rosinante on the Road Again*, destacando la capacidad de Dos Passos para “pintar” con palabras, así como su apabullante conocimiento de la política y cultura españolas (cf. Piñero, “Mad about Spain”).

No obstante, a pesar de cierto interés académico por las obras españolas de Dos Passos, su reputación como escritor entre los lectores de nuestro país está asociada inequívocamente a *Manhattan Transfer*. Así, no es extraño encontrar este mensaje recurrente en obras generales de referencia, alusiones en prensa u obras divulgativas, etc.: “Dos Passos, [escritor norteamericano] conocido por su gran novela *Manhattan Transfer*.” Es más, en muchos casos nos encontramos con que “el autor de *Manhattan Transfer*” se usa a menudo en España a modo de seudónimo para referirse a John Dos Passos. Todo ello me llevó a plantearme, como punto de partida de mi investigación, cuáles serían las razones para la posición central que ocupa *Manhattan Transfer* en España en comparación con otras obras de Dos Passos.

En los círculos literarios españoles hay común acuerdo en afirmar que *Manhattan Transfer* es una novela de primer orden, extremadamente innovadora y revolucionaria para su tiempo, cuya influencia se ha hecho notar en otros escritores españoles, como por ejemplo en Camilo José Cela y su novela *La Colmena* (1951)⁵⁴. Sin embargo, es llamativo que a pesar de las incontables pruebas de su popularidad, hasta la fecha no se hayan publicado monografías, ediciones comentadas, tesis doctorales⁵⁵, ni análisis en

⁵⁴ Camilo José Cela nunca reconoció la influencia de Dos Passos. (cf. Gibson 131-132)

⁵⁵ La base de datos de tesis doctorales españolas, TESEO, recoge dos tesis doctorales sobre Dos Passos; una se titula *John Dos Passos U.S.A. And The American Dream* (1999), de la investigadora portuguesa Maria do Ceu Martins Monteiro Marques (realizada en la Universidad de Salamanca), y la otra, anterior a esta, *La visión de España en la obra de John Dos Passos* (1978) de Catalina Montes, que fue quien dirigió la primera de las tesis citadas.

profundidad de la novela o de sus influencias en otros escritores a cargo de investigadores españoles. Aparte de las breves críticas que aparecieron en 1929, cuando se publicó por primera vez la traducción española de *Manhattan Transfer*, junto con los prólogos de las distintas ediciones a lo largo de los años, la bibliografía secundaria sobre la novela en España es escasa. Por lo tanto, la primera pregunta que me planteé fue esta: ¿Por qué la más valorada es *Manhattan Transfer* y no otras obras de Dos Passos? Probablemente, la primera razón es la atracción que los europeos en general, y también los españoles, sentimos por la ciudad de Nueva York y, muy especialmente, por la Nueva York modernista de los años 20. Sería muy interesante investigar las causas y ramificaciones de esa fascinación, pero mi propósito era otro: me interesaba el trasfondo histórico, literario y editorial de la primera mitad del siglo XX en España. Por lo tanto, además de explorar los respectivos contextos literarios y críticos en los que surgió la novela en Estados Unidos y en España, analicé los aspectos sociales y políticos que pudiesen haber influido en las traducciones de *Manhattan Transfer* y en la concepción española de John Dos Passos, desde un punto de vista diacrónico.

2. Descripción del corpus.

Para los que no estén familiarizados con la novela, *Manhattan Transfer* está ambientada en la ciudad de Nueva York en el periodo comprendido entre el principio del siglo XX, hasta el comienzo de la crisis de 1929, “*the Great Depression*”. El argumento no es fácil de resumir, dado que se construye a modo de un inmenso rompecabezas de personajes que aparecen y desaparecen, en ocasiones con historias interconectadas, en otras no: Nueva York es el hilo conductor. A pesar de los muchos personajes, dos de ellos son centrales en la historia: Ellen Thatcher y Jimmy Herf; la infancia y la juventud de ambos transcurre en la ciudad. El padre de Ellen, Ed Thatcher, es un hombre trabajador

que hace lo posible por criar a Ellen tras la muerte de su esposa. La madre de Jimmy también muere cuando este es todavía un niño, tras una larga enfermedad, lo que parece un eco de la infancia del propio Dos Passos. Ellen se casa y se divorcia varias veces, mientras Jimmy busca su sitio en la ciudad, intentando ganarse la vida como escritor. Con el tiempo, Ellen y Jimmy se casan y tienen un hijo, Martin, pero su matrimonio tampoco funciona. Al final de la novela, Ellen se queda en la ciudad y se vuelve a casar, mientras Jimmy decide dejar Nueva York en busca de un lugar donde la vida tenga más sentido para él. Hay además otros personajes con menor presencia en la novela, algunos relacionados directamente con estos dos personajes centrales, otros que componen las pinceladas de la enorme multitud que puebla la ciudad. Bud Korpening, un joven de pueblo, intenta encontrar trabajo en Nueva York pero acaba por suicidarse, desesperado ante el fracaso. Congo, un marinero francés que decide quedarse en Nueva York a probar suerte, se hace camarero y termina haciendo fortuna como contrabandista de licores durante la Prohibición, mientras su compañero de fatigas, Emile, se casa con una mujer rica. El abogado, George Baldwin, se mete en política, al igual que el lechero, Gus McNeal. Ellen logra iniciar su carrera en Broadway al casarse con John Oglethorpe. Negocios arruinados, delincuencia, la Primera Guerra mundial y la Gran Depresión están presentes a través de las vidas de más de un centenar de personajes.

En 1928, cuando le preguntaron a Dos Passos cómo describiría la técnica narrativa a modo de *collage*, multifacética, que había empleado en *Manhattan Transfer*, respondió que su modo de escribir tenía cierto paralelismo con la pintura modernista, ya que aspiraba a transmitir sensaciones más que a describirlas. En sus propias palabras, “to express sensations rather than to tell about them”. Añadió que quienes pretendieran “comprender” ese modo de escribir según el método tradicional puramente narrativo, podrían morir en el intento, “likely to be seized by panic” (en Pizer 110).

Extremadamente innovadora en su uso del lenguaje, técnicas y temas, *Manhattan Transfer* ha soportado bien el paso del tiempo en opinión de los críticos, y buena muestra de ello es el número de ediciones y reimpresiones que continúan publicándose regularmente en España en los últimos años, con una periodicidad casi anual. Solo este dato sería motivo suficiente para estudiar la novela en nuestro país, dado que, al analizar su trayectoria editorial, la posición central que ocupa *Manhattan Transfer* en España en comparación con otras obras de Dos Passos queda patente: el número de ediciones de esta novela prácticamente duplica al del resto de obras de Dos Passos en España. En el transcurso de mi investigación, he trabajado sobre la edición de Penguin en lengua inglesa de 1989, y con cinco ediciones de *Manhattan Transfer* en español: Cenit 1929, Planeta 1961, Círculo de Lectores 1989, Edhasa 2005 y Debolsillo 2009. En la siguiente sección explicaré con mayor detalle los motivos de esta selección de ediciones.

3. Método

La presente tesis se enmarca dentro de la Literatura Comparada y los Estudios de Traducción, entendiéndose la Literatura Comparada como una disciplina empírica que aborda el texto literario desde una perspectiva comparatista y en un sentido amplio. Desde un punto de vista cronológico, la literatura comparada se desarrolló con posterioridad a las otras tres grandes disciplinas de los estudios literarios: la Crítica literaria, la Teoría literaria y la Historia de la Literatura. Sus orígenes datan de los años 1830-1840 en Francia, de la mano de Abel-François Villemain y Jean-Jacques Ampère (Villanueva 99). Estos autores fueron los precursores de la denominada “escuela francesa” que se desarrolló en el siglo XIX y que estaba relacionada fundamentalmente con la Historia de la Literatura. Esta rama del comparatismo tiene todavía eco en nuestros días. Como explica el prestigioso comparatista español Darío Villanueva, el paradigma del

comparatismo francés es el estudio de la influencia de un autor o de una escuela literaria dentro de la literatura autóctona de un país, en comparación con la que ejerce en la literatura de uno o más países extranjeros. Para Villanueva este enfoque es muy útil porque nos ayuda a entender la Literatura como un fenómeno cultural complejo, y afirma: “la verdad es que este tipo de trabajo comparatista es absolutamente imprescindible y aporta datos de enorme interés para comprender que la Literatura nunca está cerrada en el ámbito de una expresión lingüística singular”, aunque a la vez es consciente de las muchas otras posibilidades que ofrece el enfoque comparatista cuando se aplica al estudio de la convergencia de recursos, temas, técnicas, etc., en literaturas a priori distantes. Para este autor, la Literatura comparada es algo más amplio que abarca “la comparación de una Literatura con otra u otras Literaturas y la comparación de la Literatura con otras esferas de la creatividad humana”. (Villanueva 99)

En el siglo XX la Literatura comparada adoptó gradualmente dos enfoques: el de la escuela francesa, reacia a incluir otras disciplinas en el estudio comparativo de literaturas supranacionales, y el enfoque multidisciplinario estadounidense (*inter-Arts approach*), que entiende que la Literatura comparada debe asociarse a otras disciplinas, tales como la Filosofía, la Teología, la Antropología Cultural y la Historiografía, entre otras. En el año 1961, el reconocido comparatista y profesor de la Universidad de Bloomington Henry H. H. Remak definió la literatura comparada en este sentido más amplio:

Comparative Literature is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country, and the study of the relationships between literature on one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the arts (e.g. painting, sculpture, architecture, music), philosophy, history, the social sciences (e.g. politics economics, sociology) the sciences, religion, etc., on the other. In brief it is the comparison of one literature with another or

others, and the comparison of literature with other spheres of human expression. (Remak 3)

Según Remak, los comparatistas de la escuela francesa se inclinan por cuestiones más tangibles y afirma: “the French are inclined to favor questions which can be solved on the basis of factual evidence”. En su opinión, son reacios a estudiar las influencias por su carácter difuso e incierto, por ser “too hazy, too uncertain, and would have us concentrate on questions of reception, intermediaries, foreign travel, and attitudes toward a given country in the literature of another country during a certain period” (*Comparative Literature, Its Definition and Function* 4).

En España, el campo de la Literatura comparada es relativamente reciente, ya que se desarrolló en las últimas décadas del siglo XX. Claudio Guillén, profesor en la Universidad de Harvard e hijo del poeta español Jorge Guillén, fue uno de sus grandes promotores a través de la Sociedad Española de Literatura General y Comparada (SELGYC). Guillén, a su regreso a España en la década de los 80 del siglo XX tras el exilio de su familia, lamentaba que no existiera la Literatura comparada en las universidades españolas como disciplina, ni siquiera en programas de posgrado. Guillén definía la Literatura comparada como “el estudio de la literatura en el sentido internacional o supranacional (...) de las relaciones entre las diversas literaturas y naciones, con sus traducciones e influencias” (Canals). En la actualidad, las universidades españolas ofrecen programas de grado y posgrado en los que se incluye la disciplina, mientras que la SELGYC suele organizar congresos de forma regular, y publica la revista *1616, Anuario de Literatura Comparada*, dirigida por Darío Villanueva, el actual presidente de la RAE.

Por tanto, es en la última década del siglo XX cuando la literatura comparada cobra relevancia como disciplina en España; hasta entonces, el trabajo de los comparatistas

solía enmarcarse formalmente dentro de la Historia de la Literatura o de la Estética. El próximo reto para los comparatistas españoles parece encontrarse en lograr un enfoque metodológico y teórico más sistemático en la disciplina. (cf. Pulido Tirado 11-29)

Dentro del campo de la Literatura comparada y la Traducción en España, la investigadora María Mercedes Enríquez ha escrito sobre la relación entre las dos disciplinas, y está de acuerdo con Remak y Steiner en que la traducción es una herramienta imprescindible para el comparatista. En su trabajo sobre la recepción española de la traducción de los poemas de John Keats, Enríquez afirma que la interacción entre la traducción y el canon literario es un campo de investigación aún por explorar. (“Traducción y canon literario” 1).

Con el denominado “giro cultural” en los estudios de traducción que comenzó a finales de la década de 1980 y se desarrolló en la última década del siglo XX, algunos expertos interesados en una perspectiva histórica y contextualizada de la Traducción han abierto nuevas vías de investigación. Dentro de esta línea y basándome en el enfoque descriptivo de los estudios de Traducción, me propongo investigar el texto traducido en su contexto histórico y desde una perspectiva diacrónica.

Este trabajo aborda las traducciones al español de *Manhattan Transfer* como parte del polisistema español, concepto definido por los formalistas rusos de principios del siglo XX y desarrollado posteriormente por Itamar Even-Zohar (1990). Se tendrán en cuenta además otras teorías relacionadas con el polisistema, en concreto las de André Lefevere (1992), Antoine Berman (1999), Theo Hermans (1999), Edwin Gentzler (2002) y Lawrence Venuti (1998), entre otras. Mi propósito no es aplicar un único modelo teórico al análisis del texto traducido, sino tomar de cada una de las teorías aquellos aspectos que he considerado más relevantes en cada una de las cuestiones abordadas.

4. Breve descripción de la estructura y el contenido

Con el fin de proporcionar el marco teórico de esta tesis, el Capítulo 1 aborda las teorías de la traducción más relevantes, así como las líneas de investigación que enmarcan la investigación. En esta parte de la tesis he incluido, además, otras teorías que han marcado el desarrollo de los Estudios de Traducción y que, aunque no estén directamente relacionadas con el tipo de análisis que nos ocupa, constituyen parte fundamental de la evolución de la disciplina.

En el Capítulo 2 abordo la figura de John Dos Passos y su trayectoria como escritor. Incluye, además de una semblanza biográfica que se centra de un modo especial en los acontecimientos de su vida en relación con España, una panorámica general de su obra, su contribución al Modernismo norteamericano y su posición en el polisistema estadounidense a través de los años. Una parte de este capítulo está dedicada a la investigación más reciente en torno al escritor de *Manhattan Transfer*, y se da cuenta de la creación de la John Dos Passos Society en el año 2011. Para la elaboración de esta parte de la tesis, tuve la oportunidad de participar en la First Biennial John Dos Passos Society Conference que se celebró en la Universidad de Tennessee en Chattanooga (EE.UU.) en octubre de 2014. Conocer a otros investigadores durante el Congreso me brindó la oportunidad de aprender de ellos y de incorporar nueva bibliografía a mi investigación en torno a Dos Passos.

Una vez proporcionado el contexto biográfico y literario, el siguiente paso consistió en abordar la recepción crítica de *Manhattan Transfer* tanto en EE.UU. como en España en el Capítulo 3. Para la elaboración de este capítulo, investigué sobre la recepción de la novela tras su publicación en 1925 en EE.UU., y en 1929 en España, junto con una panorámica diacrónica de la recepción crítica y de la investigación más

destacada. A pesar de que la recepción crítica de la novela fue similar en ambos países en el momento inmediatamente posterior a su publicación, el paso del tiempo ha engrandecido la reputación de *Manhattan Transfer* en España y, a diferencia de lo que sucedió en EE.UU., nuestra imagen de John Dos Passos parece haber permanecido intacta en el tiempo, imperturbable desde la década de 1930.

En el transcurso de esta investigación, he observado que la política ha desempeñado un papel determinante en la percepción de John Dos Passos y *Manhattan Transfer* en España. Aquí, como en EE.UU., es frecuente asociar a Dos Passos con la política. Como afirmó Lisa Nanney, experta en Dos Passos, mientras otros autores modernistas han sido interpretados a través de las analogías artísticas (Stein, Joyce), en el caso de Dos Passos, Hemingway y Fitzgerald ha predominado el enfoque historicista: “While critics have found the interartistic analogy helpful in exploring modernist writers such as Stein and Joyce, more often they’ve used historicist approaches to writers such as Dos Passos, Hemingway and Fitzgerald” (*John Dos Passos* 10). Esta investigadora también ha destacado que, de las 40 tesis doctorales escritas en EE.UU. sobre Dos Passos desde 1930, aproximadamente la mitad de ellas tratan aspectos históricos o políticos (ibid). Sin embargo, mientras se aprecia que la recepción crítica de *Manhattan Transfer* en EE.UU. influyó en su acogida en España, los posteriores cambios ideológicos hacia posiciones conservadoras que fueron tan determinantes de su fama en su país de origen, no parecen haber afectado a su reputación como escritor en nuestro país, donde al hablar de Dos Passos se hace con respeto por su implicación en la Guerra Civil, a la vez que se destaca positivamente su contribución a la modernización de la novela como género literario. Esto puede deberse, en parte, a que su producción literaria posterior, en la que trata sobre todo cuestiones políticas e históricas de los EE.UU., no es tan popular en España y no ha llegado al público lector de la misma manera que lo hicieron sus primeras

obras de ficción. Independientemente de los motivos, lo más significativo es que nuestra percepción de Dos Passos no se ha visto influida por su giro ideológico.

La recepción inicial de *Manhattan Transfer* —desde la primera edición de 1929 hasta el estallido de la Guerra Civil— se caracterizó por la fascinación por la ciudad de Nueva York y los elogios por la innovadora técnica narrativa de Dos Passos, aunque en algunos casos con objeciones a lo crudo del lenguaje y a la catadura moral de los personajes. Por lo tanto, la recepción española de Dos Passos a través de su única novela presente en el polisistema español en esos años no difiere mucho de la estadounidense. Sin embargo, algunos años más tarde nos encontramos con una diferencia fundamental, basada en cuestiones políticas. Durante la primera etapa de la dictadura franquista (de 1939 hasta la década de 1960), la recepción de *Manhattan Transfer* en España estuvo marcada por la censura: la recepción crítica de esta etapa se limita a los expedientes de censura, que dejan constancia de que la edición de la novela se prohibió formalmente en España durante casi 10 años (julio 1948- octubre 1957), mientras que nunca se prohibió en los EE.UU., si bien los críticos estadounidenses más conservadores no aprobasen su lenguaje ni los temas tratados.

En la actualidad, las referencias a *Manhattan Transfer* en España aluden invariablemente a la amistad de Dos Passos con el traductor original de la novela, cuya trágica muerte durante la Guerra Civil española es un tema recurrente. Este hecho sin duda ha contribuido a mantener vivo el nombre de John Dos Passos entre los lectores del siglo XXI.

En efecto, la historia de la amistad entre John Dos Passos y José Robles Pazos, el primer traductor al español de *Manhattan Transfer*, ha sido recreada por distintos autores y desde diferentes perspectivas. Mi fuente inicial fue *A Twentieth Century Odissey*, la biografía de John Dos Passos escrita por Townsend Ludington (cf. 366-74). Como

traductora, me sentí atraída de inmediato por la relación especial que surgió entre los dos jóvenes —Pepe y Dos como les llamaban sus amigos— cuando se conocieron en un tren a Toledo en el invierno de 1916, durante la primera visita de Dos Passos a España. La amistad perduró durante años, primero por carta y más tarde en EE.UU., después de que Robles y su esposa Mágara se trasladaran allí cuando Pepe consiguió un puesto de profesor de español en John Hopkins University (Baltimore) a finales de 1920. En 1929, Cenit publicaba la traducción al español de *Manhattan Transfer* a cargo de Robles. En 1937, como oficial del ejército republicano que trabajaba como traductor para el Gobierno, Robles desaparece trágicamente, posiblemente por haber sido ejecutado por los rusos bajo sospecha de espionaje, lo que supuso la total decepción de Dos Passos de la causa comunista; para algunos críticos (Casey o Pizer entre otros) este giro ideológico fue lo que le hizo cada vez menos popular entre los intelectuales y críticos norteamericanos, y su fama literaria como un icono de las causas izquierdistas se convirtió en la de un traidor a las ideas comunistas. Casi 80 años después de su muerte, el caso Robles continúa siendo controvertido, como parte del *boom* literario en torno a la Guerra Civil que ha tenido lugar en España en los últimos años. En su libro *Rocinante Pierde el Camino* (1978), Baggio escribió el primer relato pormenorizado de la búsqueda de José Robles por parte de Dos Passos durante la Guerra Civil, e incluía valiosas referencias cronológicas y bibliográficas. Años más tarde, Ignacio Martínez de Pisón citaba el trabajo de Baggio en el prólogo de su libro *Enterrar a los Muertos* (2007) como el punto de partida de su investigación. Aunque las historias biográficas contadas en estos libros no forman parte de la bibliografía crítica en torno a *Manhattan Transfer* estrictamente hablando, argumentaré cómo, en mi opinión, los hechos históricos que narran estos libros han contribuido de un modo positivo a la continuada popularidad de la novela y, por extensión, a la de John Dos Passos en la España del siglo XXI. Los aspectos

socioculturales y las circunstancias históricas en torno a la publicación de *Manhattan Transfer* en España se abordan en el Capítulo 4.

Finalmente, el Capítulo 5 está dedicado al análisis textual de las traducciones, y está dividido en tres apartados principales. El primer apartado consiste en el análisis de los enfoques traductivos en los fragmentos censurados; el segundo aborda la autoría de las traducciones en las distintas ediciones estudiadas; finalmente, el tercer y último apartado de este capítulo analiza los rasgos característicos de los enfoques y estrategias de traducción desde una perspectiva diacrónica. A continuación, expondré brevemente el propósito de cada uno de los apartados.

La primera parte del análisis de las traducciones aborda los fragmentos censurados. Desde un punto de vista histórico, me interesaba determinar si la censura había tenido un impacto visible en la versión española de la novela. Con ese fin, analicé los fragmentos censurados de acuerdo con los expedientes de censura que se conservan en el AGA, y comparé la edición de Cenit de 1929 con la edición autorizada a Planeta después de la guerra (1961), con el fin de comprobar si la traducción había logrado franquear la barrera de la censura y si había sido mutilada o alterada de algún modo.

La segunda parte del análisis de la traducción está relacionada con la autoría de la traducción en las distintas versiones objeto de este estudio. He contabilizado un total de 28 ediciones o reediciones de *Manhattan Transfer* entre 1929 y 2014, pero en 11 de ellas, a partir del año 1984, la traducción no se atribuye a José Robles Pazos. 10 de estas traducciones llevan el nombre de José Robles Piquer, traductor inexistente, mientras que la undécima de estas ediciones lleva el nombre de un tal Enrique Robles⁵⁶. La investigadora Rosa Rabadán, sin dar más detalles, opina que la traducción atribuida a

⁵⁶ Véase la Tabla 2.

Robles Piquer podría ser un caso de plagio (cf. *Equivalencia translémica* 170). Para el profesor Manuel Broncano Rodríguez (235-6), y el escritor Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (199-200), se trata de la misma traducción con pequeñas diferencias, y la duplicidad de traductores se debería a un error de imprenta imperdonable. Para complicar aún más las cosas, en las dos ediciones de *Manhattan Transfer* que están actualmente a la venta en España en las librerías, unas llevan el nombre de Robles Pazos, otras el de Robles Piquer. Es más, las traducciones son diferentes en distintos aspectos.

Si bien podría afirmarse que las distintas versiones no varían mucho en términos cuantitativos (esto es, en el número de unidades de traducción que varían al comparar la traducción original de 1929 con las más recientes), los cambios que se han realizado denotan una clara intencionalidad y, en ocasiones, el uso de distintos criterios de traducción provoca textos de cualidades diferentes.

Comenzaré comparando la edición original de *Cenit* en 1929 con las dos versiones que supusieron el comienzo de mi investigación en la autoría de la traducción: la edición de 1961 atribuida a Robles Pazos, y la de *Círculo de Lectores* de 1989, atribuida a Robles Piquer. El motivo de esta elección es que tanto Planeta como *Círculo de Lectores* son editoriales importantes en España, y sus ediciones tienen una enorme popularidad; además, desde un punto de vista cronológico, estas ediciones (1961 y 1989), han estado a disposición de una generación de lectores representativa de la segunda mitad del siglo xx. A continuación, compararé nuevamente la edición original de *Cenit* en 1929 con las dos ediciones que continúan imprimiéndose en España en la actualidad, Edhasa 2005 y Debolsillo 2009 (reeditada in 2014). La yuxtaposición de las múltiples versiones (cf. Venuti, *Scandals* 99) servirá para cuestionar la opinión generalizada en cuanto a que hay una única versión de *Manhattan Transfer* en español atribuida por un error de imprenta a dos personas diferentes, una opinión que no ha sido argumentada. Así, analizaré algunos

fragmentos en las diferentes versiones —según las propuestas de André Lefevere para el análisis de textos literarios (cf. *Translating Literature* 20-82) y la “analítica negativa” de Antoine Berman (cf. *Translation*), de un modo amplio y no excluyente— para defender que existen ciertas diferencias en las distintas versiones que no pueden explicarse sin la intervención consciente por parte de sucesivos traductores (a veces bajo el nombre de José Robles Piquer) para modificar la versión original de José Robles Pazos; tales variaciones se producen con independencia del cambio de nombres.

El análisis diacrónico tiene como objeto, además, explorar los distintos efectos que las traducciones de un mismo texto original a lo largo del tiempo pueden provocar en la obra literaria, de modo que puedan analizarse como formas de recepción asociadas a la cultura de cada momento histórico en el que se han producido tales traducciones. En palabras de Venuti, “the different translation effects possible at different cultural moments, allowing these effects to be studied as forms of reception affiliated with different cultural constituencies” (*Scandals* 99).

Desde el punto de vista de la traducción, Robles tuvo que enfrentarse a la enorme dificultad de trasladar al español una novela absolutamente americana, llena de referencias culturales; logró hacerlo con éxito, si tenemos en cuenta el elevado número de reediciones de la novela y su popularidad en España. El escritor Francisco Ayala, que escribió una de las primeras críticas de la edición española de *Manhattan Transfer* en *Revista de Occidente* (1929), elogió la traducción de Robles aunque destacó las dificultades a la hora de trasladar los matices de significado peculiares, los localismos, las palabras inventadas, etc. Aparte de Ayala, que mencionó dificultades, los críticos españoles jamás han puesto objeciones a la traducción de Robles. Consciente de la envergadura del trabajo que han realizado el traductor o traductores de *Manhattan Transfer*, en la tercera y última parte del Capítulo 5 me centraré en el análisis de los

enfoques de traducción utilizados. El objeto de esta parte del análisis es determinar si existen enfoques de traducción sistemáticos y diferenciados, característicos de cada una de las distintas traducciones, así como argumentar la conveniencia de una nueva traducción de *Manhattan Transfer* al español.

CONCLUSIONES

La literatura comparada, en su sentido más amplio, aborda el estudio de la obra literaria en relación con otras disciplinas y a través de fronteras geográficas, culturales o lingüísticas. Desde una perspectiva comparatista, John Dos Passos es un escritor fascinante: los intereses que cultivó en su juventud —las artes plásticas y la arquitectura, los viajes, la política, la Historia— impregnaron sus obras de tal modo que su análisis en relación con otras disciplinas, otros países, otras culturas, es extremadamente interesante para el investigador.

En la concepción española de John Dos Passos a través de los años, *Manhattan Transfer* ha desempeñado un papel tan importante que escritor y novela se han convertido en un binomio inseparable y, a su vez, ambos han pasado a formar parte indiscutible de nuestro sistema sociocultural y literario. A través del enfoque descriptivo empleado en esta investigación, se han identificado algunas claves para comprender los mecanismos que han contribuido a la particular percepción de esta novela en España y, por extensión, a la de John Dos Passos.

Dos Passos se sintió fascinado por España desde su primera visita a nuestro país, cuando era un joven que acaba de finalizar sus estudios en Harvard en 1916. Aquí se empapó del arte, la literatura y la arquitectura, disfrutó de los paisajes, y entabló amistades que conservó a lo largo de su vida: sus escritos sobre España son buena muestra de ello. Dos Passos no solo adquirió un apabullante conocimiento de nuestra cultura y de nuestra sociedad, sino que llevaba a España en el corazón; prueba de ello es

el lugar preferente que ocupa en *The Best Times* (1966), sus memorias, que comienzan con algunos recuerdos infantiles de su padre y sus vivencias del primer viaje a Madrid cuando era un joven estudiante, y que acaban con una anécdota de su viaje a Madrid en 1933 con su primera esposa, Katy. Al escribir sobre una de sus primeras estancias en España (en 1921), Dos Passos recuerda:

As a correspondent for a labor paper I wasn't much of a success. Though I was thoroughly interested in syndicalism and socialism and trade union matters, I was continually distracted by scenery and painting and architecture and the *canto hondo* and the grave rhythms of flamenco dancing. And the people, the people, the infinitely tragical, comical, pathetic and laughable varieties of people. (*The Best Times* 81)

Aunque la imagen de España en las obras de Dos Passos se caracteriza por la fascinación por este país, sus escritos también reflejan las contradicciones y la complejidad de la España que tan bien conoció y que tanto le preocupaba. En la actualidad, cuando se han cumplido casi cincuenta años de su muerte, Dos Passos continúa presente en el polisistema español, aunque sus obras de inspiración española no sean especialmente conocidas: nuestro público lector asocia a Dos Passos, invariablemente, con *Manhattan Transfer*.

El objetivo inicial de mi investigación fue explorar las razones de la importancia de *Manhattan Transfer* en España —considerada su obra maestra—, en comparación con otras obras de Dos Passos. El análisis de su historia editorial a lo largo de los años frente a otras obras importantes de Dos Passos muestra que el número de ediciones y reediciones de *Manhattan Transfer* en España duplica el de la trilogía *U.S.A.*, por citar la más reconocida de sus obras en EE.UU.

Manhattan Transfer se publica por primera vez en 1925 cuando Dos Passos tan solo tenía 29 años. La publicación de la novela en EE.UU. le situó como uno de los autores más innovadores de su época, y supuso el comienzo de un periodo de enorme popularidad que alcanzaría su punto álgido con la publicación de la trilogía *U.S.A.* en 1938, cuando Sartre escribió que Dos Passos era “el escritor más grande de todos los tiempos” (cf. Sanders 302). La carrera de Dos Passos como escritor puede dividirse en dos etapas bien diferenciadas: por un lado sus primeros años, marcados por largos viajes a distintas partes del mundo, incluida España, y caracterizados por un fuerte compromiso político con la izquierda; por otro sus años de madurez, que pasó fundamentalmente en su casa de Baltimore, y en los que se interesó más por la Historia y la política estadounidenses, desde una posición conservadora.

Investigué sobre la recepción inicial de Dos Passos en España a la vez que exploraba lo que los críticos estadounidenses habían dicho de sus obras y, más específicamente, de *Manhattan Transfer*. El resumen de la recepción de la novela en EE.UU. sirvió de telón de fondo sobre el que contrastar las peculiaridades de la recepción española.

Las líneas generales de la interpretación crítica en los primeros años fueron prácticamente las mismas en España y en EE.UU., lo que nos hace pensar que posiblemente los críticos estadounidenses ejercieron cierta influencia en los críticos españoles. Inmediatamente tras su publicación en EE.UU., *Manhattan Transfer* recibió críticas desiguales. Algunos críticos y escritores de prestigio la elogiaron por lo innovador de sus temas, lenguaje y técnicas, exactamente las mismas razones por las que otros la denostaron. Sinclair Lewis y Scott Fitzgerald, entre otros, fueron algunos de los escritores y amigos de Dos Passos que contribuyeron a su reconocimiento en aquellos primeros años. En la década siguiente, Dos Passos se consagró como un escritor de primera línea en su país. Con el paso de los años, los críticos estadounidenses parecen haber adoptado la

opinión generalizada de que *Manhattan Transfer* es el preludio técnico de la trilogía *U.S.A.*, que consideran la mejor obra de Dos Passos. En la actualidad, la opinión generalizada en EE.UU. es que esta novela urbana y modernista ha desempeñado un papel importante en la construcción de la identidad americana del siglo XX.

Por su parte, en España, la recepción inicial de *Manhattan Transfer* fue extremadamente positiva, como muestran las reseñas de José Robles Pazos, Francisco Ayala y la publicada en *La Revista Blanca*; el testimonio de Hemingway sobre la popularidad de Dos Passos en España en 1931 que afirmaba que nadie había leído la novela en este país menos de cuatro veces, “nobody has read *Manhattan* less than four times”, confirma este hecho. Sin embargo, también hay evidencias de una acogida menos calurosa por otros críticos no tan conocidos ni influyentes; Salaverría en el *ABC* reconocía el valor literario de la obra pero añoraba los viejos tiempos de Emerson, Whitman o James, lamentándose de las transformaciones morales en la sociedad americana; Andrenio, en *La Voz*, expresaba su admiración por la fuerza extraordinariamente intuitiva de sus escenas, pero no le convencía lo que él consideraba “una falta de estructura”. En años posteriores, todos los críticos españoles que han escrito sobre *Manhattan Transfer* lo han hecho desde un punto de vista positivo. No obstante, a pesar de la popularidad de la novela, se han publicado escasos trabajos de suficiente calado, a excepción del artículo de Gualberto sobre las representaciones urbanas y la retórica de la enfermedad (2011), y los prólogos a las distintas ediciones, entre ellos los de Rojas (1964), Gopegui (1995), Vargas Llosa (1989) y Fuentes (2000), los cuales han contribuido a la recepción positiva de *Manhattan Transfer* en España desde distintas perspectivas. En la actualidad, es considerada una novela modernista que ha resistido extremadamente bien el paso del tiempo; se elogia su técnica narrativa, pero también su vigencia. La fascinación por el Nueva York de principios del siglo XX es probablemente una de las razones de la popularidad de la novela en España; de

hecho, contamos con ejemplos recientes en la novela española en los que está presente la ciudad de Nueva York, como por ejemplo *El hombre que inventó Manhattan*, de Ray Loriga (2004), o *Ventanas de Manhattan*, de Antonio Muñoz Molina (2004). La influencia de *Manhattan Transfer* en la literatura española está aún por explorar en profundidad, más allá de su influencia en *La Colmena* (1951) de Camilo José Cela, una influencia que los críticos han señalado frecuentemente, aunque Cela nunca lo admitiera. Por otro lado, la Guerra Civil española paralizó buena parte de la actividad editorial en España entre 1936 y finales de la década de 1950, y a excepción de *Rocinante vuelve al camino* (1930) y *Manhattan Transfer* (1929), el resto de obras de Dos Passos no se publicaron hasta mucho más tarde y con menor impacto, algo que puede haber contribuido a que en España se relacione siempre a Dos Passos con su novela de 1925.

En el marco del análisis descriptivo de las traducciones de *Manhattan Transfer* al español, he proporcionado una visión diacrónica de los contextos culturales en los que se publicaron. El repaso de la historia editorial de la novela se ha abordado como reflejo de la historia del país, y se han analizado las diversas circunstancias en las que fueron publicadas las distintas ediciones objeto de este estudio.

El contexto sociocultural y político en el que *Manhattan Transfer* entró en el sistema cultural español, junto con la popularidad de John Dos Passos en los círculos intelectuales españoles de las década de 1920-30, influyeron positivamente en el éxito inicial de la novela. El hecho de que fuese publicada por Cenit —una editorial comunista— durante la dictadura de Miguel Primo de Rivera y el agónico reinado de Alfonso XIII dio a Dos Passos un estatus de escritor de izquierdas que ha permanecido en el tiempo; su giro ideológico no ha afectado a su reputación como escritor en España. Esa primera edición de 1929, con una reedición en 1930, era un libro de bolsillo con una ilustración urbana en la portada; como corresponde a las circunstancias de esa edición, el enfoque de traducción

adoptado por Robles se caracteriza por su intento de trasladar la vivacidad de los personajes de Dos Passos, incluido el lenguaje vulgar y sin tapujos de los *bajos fondos*, como lo describió Hemingway en su carta de 1931 a Dos Passos. Además, los amigos que Dos Passos había entablado en Madrid durante sus viajes de juventud, muchos de ellos relacionados con la Residencia de Estudiantes, le proporcionaron un estatus de escritor muy respetado y bien conocido entre los intelectuales españoles.

La Guerra Civil española desempeñó un papel determinante en la recepción de John Dos Passos en EE.UU. y España, aunque con efectos diferentes; en EE.UU., el giro ideológico experimentado por Dos Passos a raíz de la ejecución de Pepe Robles le hizo perder popularidad entre los críticos, colegas y lectores a partir de finales de la década de 1930, y nunca llegó a recuperarla del todo; en cambio, en España, la muerte de José Robles asoció a Dos Passos y a Robles a nuestra identidad histórica y cultural. El triángulo Hemingway-Robles-Dos Passos durante la Guerra Civil española ha sido revisitado frecuentemente por estudiosos y críticos, y el hecho de que se haya escrito tanto sobre el tema no le ha restado interés. Desde Baggio a Martínez de Pisón y, recientemente la directora de documentales Sonia Tercero, se han interesado por esta cuestión toda una generación de investigadores y lectores, lo cual se ha traducido en un interés renovado por el autor *Manhattan Transfer*, y por extensión, por la novela misma. Además, *Manhattan Transfer* se asocia en nuestras mentes a algunas de las claves culturales y políticas de la España del siglo xx a través de las vidas de John Dos Passos y de su primer traductor, José Robles Pazos. La vida literaria en los cafés y tertulias, la Residencia de Estudiantes, la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, marcaron a aquella generación de intelectuales, artistas y escritores españoles que posteriormente vivieron la guerra con todas sus consecuencias (fusilamientos, exilio, represión política). Dos Passos no solo fue testigo de todo ello sino que se vio “atrapado” en el horror de las muertes inocentes a través de la pérdida de su

mejor amigo español, Pepe Robles. Mercedes Pacheco, la traductora al gallego de *Manhattan Transfer*, escribió estas líneas en el prólogo a la edición gallega, que citamos aquí porque ilustra los elementos característicos de la interpretación española de John Dos Passos:

[...] falar de *Manhattan Transfer* é falar de modernidade [...]; falar de *Manhattan Transfer* implica recoñecer a mestria dunha morea de palabras que agochan a rebeldía e inconformismo dum home de tendências de esquerdas, amigo da República española e conecedor de Institución Libre de Enseñanza da man do seu grande amigo José Giner; falar de *Manhattan Transfer* é falar dun home amante das liberdades e inimigo das ataduras materiais e sociais que asfixian a masa humana. (159)

Las diversas reescrituras de la ejecución de José Robles ejemplifican lo que el historiador Sánchez León identificó como “el interés por los individuos como protagonistas de nuestra historia en las narrativas de la Guerra Civil española”⁵⁷. De haber sido Robles un personaje anónimo, su historia habría sido una más entre otras muchas similares de detenciones, desapariciones y fusilamientos ilegales durante la guerra. Sin embargo, la búsqueda del traductor José Robles por parte de John Dos Passos convirtió esta historia en un caso especial dentro de nuestro sistema cultural; las numerosas referencias al episodio en los medios de comunicación españoles contribuyen a mantener la vigencia del escritor norteamericano, reforzando la imagen del personaje que había empatizado con los dramas del pueblo español durante la guerra. Esta historia real y dramática ha tenido dos efectos inesperados. Por un lado, José Robles se ha convertido invariablemente en *el traductor de John Dos Passos*, (aunque solo tradujera una de sus

⁵⁷ Véanse las páginas 158-9.

obras, al igual que su mujer Mária Villegas, que tradujo *Rocinante vuelve al camino*), y la traducción al español de *Manhattan Transfer* se ha convertido en la abanderada indiscutible de las obras de Dos Passos en España. Por otro lado, aquella imagen primera de John Dos Passos en la década de 1930 como escritor de izquierdas, defensor de la República española, ha permanecido prácticamente intacta con el paso del tiempo. Los críticos y comunicadores españoles de siglo XI han sido tan insistentes en esta única historia de John Dos Passos, José Robles y *Manhattan Transfer*, que se ha convertido en la esencia de la interpretación actual del escritor y sus obras en España. En cambio, a diferencia de lo que sucedió en EE.UU., su giro ideológico rara vez se menciona en la recepción crítica más reciente.

La censura es una característica propia de la recepción española de *Manhattan Transfer* determinada por circunstancias políticas. En la investigación se han identificado los diversos expedientes de censura que inicialmente prohibieron, y posteriormente autorizaron, tanto la publicación de *Manhattan Transfer* como la importación de ediciones extranjeras en España bajo la dictadura franquista; también se ha analizado el impacto que tal censura tuvo sobre la primera edición de *Manhattan Transfer* tras su autorización en 1957. En el caso de esta obra en particular, la censura no afectó en excesiva medida a su contenido, más allá de que la prohibición oficial de la novela entre 1948 (fecha de la primera solicitud denegada por los censores) y 1957, fecha de autorización definitiva.

A partir de mediados de los años cincuenta del siglo XX, Planeta logró publicar libros previamente prohibidos, uno de los cuales fue *Manhattan Transfer*. El soporte físico de la edición de Planeta se corresponde con el gusto de aquellos años, en los que los libros en las estanterías de los saloncitos de las casas españolas se convirtieron en un símbolo de estatus cultural y económico, por lo que se buscaba que quedaran elegantes como objeto

decorativo. Así, *Manhattan Transfer* dejó atrás su aspecto proletario y se convirtió en una edición encuadernada en piel e impresa en papel biblia, con letreros dorados. Parte del lenguaje se suavizó, y se cambiaron ligeramente algunos diálogos que incluían blasfemias o referencias sexuales demasiado explícitas. Por lo tanto, en la década de 1960 la edición española perdió su barniz *underground* y adquirió el estatus de un gran clásico universal, presente en las estanterías de muchos hogares de clase media.

A lo largo de las décadas de 1980 y 1990 se publicaron diversas ediciones de *Manhattan Transfer*, unas atribuidas a José Robles Pazos, otras al inexistente José Robles Piquer. El hecho de que los editores de *Manhattan Transfer* hayan ido incorporando cambios tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos en las versiones españolas a lo largo de los años —atribuyendo no obstante la traducción a José Robles [Pazos] o, aún peor, a un José Robles Piquer inexistente— indica que no se han respetado los derechos de autor del traductor o traductores. El análisis de las distintas versiones muestra que existen, como mínimo, cuatro versiones diferentes de *Manhattan Transfer* a disposición de los lectores españoles en la actualidad.

Las ediciones de bolsillo conviven con las de tapa dura, y algunos escritores de prestigio han escrito los prólogos de varias de ellas, como por ejemplo Mario Vargas Llosa o Carlos Fuentes, entre otros. Los cambios textuales más evidentes en los textos españoles incluyen la actualización de algunas expresiones pasadas de moda, y el uso sistemático de cursiva para las palabras o frases escritas en otros idiomas. Los cambios son patentes con respecto a la traducción original de 1929. La novela mantiene su fama y ha consolidado su posición como un clásico de la literatura, con ediciones o reimpressiones casi anuales durante los últimos quince años.

Desde un punto de vista textual, *Manhattan Transfer* es un buen ejemplo de las dificultades que plantea la traducción de la novela como género literario señaladas por

Berman⁵⁸. Su descripción de lo que en ocasiones puede parecer una falta de control por parte de los grandes prosistas, una “falta de control” que “se deriva de la enorme masa lingüística que el escritor en prosa debe incorporar en la novela, a riesgo de hacerla estallar formalmente” podría haberse escrito perfectamente para referirse al estilo de Dos Passos en esta novela.

Los desafíos más evidentes en la traducción de *Manhattan Transfer* son, por un lado, la multiplicidad de las voces de los personajes y, por otro, las descripciones impresionistas características de la técnica experimental modernista de Dos Passos. Desde mi punto de vista, el mayor logro de Robles fue al verter al español el lenguaje coloquial de los personajes, aun teniendo en cuenta que la riqueza del elemento multicultural de la obra original es imposible de replicar en la obra traducida. A pesar de ello, la espontaneidad de los diálogos muestra el dominio de Robles de los marcadores discursivos para producir diálogos realistas, algo en lo que influyó, quizás, el hecho de que él y su compañera, Mágina, fueran muy aficionados al teatro. Por el contrario, la traducción de los pasajes descriptivos en ocasiones no logra trasladar el elemento impresionista, bien por la racionalización sintáctica, bien por el empobrecimiento del lenguaje. Las omisiones son frecuentes, mientras que algunas de las estrategias de traducción han destruido patrones lingüísticos característicos de *Manhattan Transfer*, tales como el uso del color y de la luz, por ejemplo. Basándome en los resultados del análisis, los aspectos que deben revisarse para una futura edición incluirían, por un lado, los pasajes descriptivos con abundante premodificación y posmodificación, en especial los que incluyen colores, olores y sonidos, para trasladar más fielmente al español el impresionismo de Dos Passos y, por otro, los fragmentos en los que se han detectado

⁵⁸ Véanse también las páginas 50-51 de esta tesis sobre las teorías de Berman.

omisiones innecesarias y algunos errores de traducción que pueden subsanarse. Además, sería muy interesante considerar una edición anotada de la novela, para proporcionar al lector una guía básica a través de los personajes y acontecimientos históricos que aparecen en los titulares de periódicos o por alusión en los diálogos entre personajes, etc., junto con información sobre las numerosísimas referencias sociológicas (moda, publicidad, canciones, etc.) esto permitiría a los lectores españoles del siglo XXI una lectura más completa.

En cuanto a las áreas de interés para investigaciones futuras, se podría comparar el tratamiento que dieron los censores a otras obras de Dos Passos, así como a otras grandes obras de la época, como por ejemplo *El Gran Gatsby* de Fitzgerald, *El sonido y la furia* de Faulkner, o *Fiesta* de Hemingway, para determinar si fueron modificadas por la censura, en qué medida y por cuánto tiempo. El campo de estudio es inmenso y fascinante a la vez.

En cuanto al proceso de traducción original a cargo de Pepe Robles, un estudio comparativo de la edición francesa de Gallimard en 1928 con la de Cenit en 1929, serviría para mostrar hasta qué punto la primera pudo influir sobre la segunda. Asimismo, sería interesante explorar si Mágina Villegas, que había traducido varios libros para Cenit y que continuó trabajando como traductora en México hasta la década de 1960, pudo haber contribuido en alguna medida a la traducción de Robles, quizás sirviéndonos de las herramientas informáticas para el análisis de corpus de las que disponemos en la actualidad.

Una reflexión final: Cuando comparamos la popularidad de John Dos Passos en los medios de comunicación —y entre los lectores en general—, con el interés académico e investigador que ha suscitado su obra, podemos concluir que la investigación en torno a John Dos Passos ha sido escasa en España en los últimos años. Por su parte, los periodistas y otros comunicadores han logrado mantener vivo el nombre de John Dos

Passos y *Manhattan Transfer* en nuestro sistema cultural, como muestran las referencias frecuentes a ambos en prensa escrita, sitios web, blogs personales, etc. Ante esto, no debemos olvidar lo que dijo Lefevere en cuanto a la importancia de estudiar la realidad de la obra literaria junto con la imagen que dicha obra proyecta. En sus propias palabras: “It is important that the image of a work of literature and the texts that constitute that image be studied alongside its reality”. (*Translating Literature* 14)

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

FIRST BIENNIAL JOHN DOS PASSOS SOCIETY CONFERENCE

Now follows a brief overview of the various panels with speakers' names and affiliations and the content of their papers.

The first panel, titled "The Great War," was devoted to *One Man's Initiation* and *Three Soldiers*, two of Dos Passos's earlier novels. Aaron Shaheen (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) opened the Conference with his paper "*One Man's Initiation: Facial Mutilation and the End of Medieval Idealism*." In this paper, Shaheen argued that Dos Passos showed "a clear preoccupation with faces" (Shaheen, "One Man's" 1), and with different forms of facial mutilation, which symbolizes the break of the modern world with long-standing European cultural assumptions, in that "the war [...] ushered out the medieval idealism that had long linked the human face to spiritual ascendancy and redemption"(ibid).The main character, Martin Howe, becomes obsessed with people's faces after the encounter with a wounded soldier in a Paris café who wears a prostheses to cover the place "where the nose should have been," and some mechanical device "that took the place of the jaw"(17-18). Gasmasks needed against the horrors of chemical warfare also have "resounding repercussions for [...] the conceptualization of the human face" (Shaheen, "One Man's"14).Thus, Shaheen argued, the human face, once a symbol of the spirituality of the individual, becomes hopelessly de-humanized by the mechanical warfare.

In the next paper, “Initiation to the New Symbolic: *One Man’s Initiation* and Lacanian Psychoanalytics” Julia Hunter (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) also examined images of decay in *One Man’s Initiation*, drawing on the theories of Jacques Lacan (cf. John Dos Passos Society, First Biennial). James Arnett (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) followed with his paper titled “*Three Soldiers*: The Revolution will be Working Class and Queer,” in which he argued that Dos Passos envisioned a revolutionary role for the working class soldier combined with hints of fascination with homosexual desire.

The second panel, titled “Contemporaries”, included three papers in which the speakers elaborated on the relationships of Dos Passos with Ernest Hemingway, Pauline Pfeiffer Hemingway and Pío Baroja respectively. Independent scholar Dean Bartholomew argued in his paper “Dos Passos and Hemingway: A Broken Friendship” that the two writers shared many things in common, but that the political developments in the Spanish Civil War and the execution of Robles made them take separate pathways. Their friendship froze. Bartholomew concluded that “while Hemingway may have proven the better writer [...] Dos Passos proved to be the better person.” (JDPS, First Biennial)

In the paper that followed titled “40 Plus Coats of Paint: Pauline Pfeiffer-Hemingway as an (Almost) Delta Debutante,” Amy Smichdt (Lyon College) vindicated the role Hemingway’s first wife played in keeping Dos Passos and other writers coming back to Key West, even after Heminway “began alienating them.” For Smichdt, it was Pauline’s sharp wit and sense of humor—as demonstrated in her articles for *Vogue* or in her African diary—which made the Hemingways’ Florida home a popular meeting point, beyond her ability to socialize and her impeccable dress. (JDPS, First Biennial)

To conclude the panel on John Dos Passos's contemporaries, David Murad (Lakeland Community College) delivered his paper "John Dos Passos and Baroja: Agents of the Revolution." Murad argued that Pío Baroja exerted an enormous influence on Dos Passos as a writer, both esthetically and ideologically, not only in his earlier writings of Spanish inspiration, but also in the spirit of Dos Passos's social commentary and the trilogy U.S.A. . For Murad, Dos Passos is "Baroja's American counterpart." (JDPS, First Biennial)

Manhattan Transfer was the title of the third panel. There were four participants in this panel, including myself. Two of the papers were focused on the analysis of elements in the novel; these were "The Hat in *Manhattan Transfer*" by William Brevda (Central Michigan University) and "A Fire That Purifies: Psychic Contamination and Suicidal Fantasy in *Manhattan Transfer*" by Katherine Ryan (University of California at Irvine). Both papers are dealt with in the section devoted to recent research on Dos Passos and *Manhattan Transfer*. On a different key and from a comparatist perspective, Professor emeritus Pedro F. Campa (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) delivered a paper titled "*Manhattan Transfer*, Camilo José Cela and Twentieth-Century Spanish Fiction." Campa addressed the influence of the writing techniques used by Dos Passos —montage, disconnected narratives and no regard for 'traditional' structures— on Spanish nobel prize Camilo José Cela (JDPS, First Biennial). Included in the panel devoted to *Manhattan Transfer*, my paper titled "Politics and the Spanish Reception of John Dos Passos" addressed the significant popularity of *Manhattan Transfer* in Spain and argued that the Spanish translation of *Manhattan Transfer* and politics have played a determininig role in the Spanish construction of Dos Passos.

The next panel was devoted to Dos Passos and film. Whilst Lisa Nanney (independent scholar) and Edward Eason (University of California at Riverside) elaborated on the filmic aspects of Dos Passos's technique in *Three Soldiers* and *1919* respectively, Lynn C. Purkey (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) addressed the influence of film technique on Spanish writer Ramón J. Sender. Nanney's paper titled "'Goin' to the movies...?' Picturing the War in *Three Soldiers*" dealt with the writing technique used by Dos Passos in this early novel, which for her is not at all "an apprentice novel" but the foreword to the formal devices Dos Passos mastered in *Manhattan Transfer* and *U.S.A.* (JDPS, First Biennial.) In his paper "'A Time of Mourning...Too Meaningful and Tragic for Applause': Capturing the Spectacle of Peace through Silent Film Aesthetics in John Dos Passos's *1919*," Eason argued that silent film aesthetics in *1919* gave continuity to the horrors of the war in the presumed peace of the 1920s. For Eason, "driving the monage plot of *1919*, incongruence generates a sense of temporal movement through the juxtaposition of separate scenes dissolving into one another" (3). The unknown soldier, the "scrap" or remains of the War and mobilized time are employed by Dos Passos to criticize "the state's priority in and out of wartime to identify and synchronize disciplined American bodies, dead or alive." (10)

Dos Passos's portrayal of the feminine was present in the fifth panel, through the papers of Natalie Counts (Chattanooga State Community College), Claudia Matherly Stolz (independent scholar) and Paul Petrovic (University of Tulsa). In her paper "Rejection of repressive Symbolism in *1919*: Dos Passos's Eveline Hutchins," Counts reflected on Eveline's movement towards rejection of traditional female roles, which is revealed as limited when she ultimately accepts motherhood. For Counts, "Eveline's character shows that Dos Passos was capable and successful in creating a female

character that achieves realism we've come to expect from his social critiques," (10) challenging Janet Casey's critique of Dos Passos's capacity in this respect in her work *Dos Passos and the Ideology of the Feminine* (1-10).

Matherly Stolz in her paper "Margo Dowling: Giver and Taker" argues that Margo, one of the characters of *The Big Money*, is one of Dos Passos's "most intriguing creations," where he shows a deep insight of the negative, long term effects of sexual abuse. (JDPS, First Biennial). Finally, Petrovic compared the feminine in Dos Passos's characters Georgia Washburn and Mary French "From Left to Right: Political Economy and Female Mobility in Dos Passos's *U.S.A.* and *District of Columbia* Trilogies." Regardless of their author shift from left to right and the time elapsed between the two trilogies, the theme of gender oppression and attendant resistance informs both of them. "Both characters are derided by the dominant ideology to which they subscribe." (JDPS, First Biennial)

The sixth panel was opened by Victoria Bryan (Cleveland State Community College) with her paper "'Truth? What is Truth?': Dos Passos and Prison Writing." Bryan held that Dos Passos's interest in incarceration in the 1920s and 1930s is patent in the biographies of Sacco and Vanzetti or Eugene Debs in the *U.S.A.* Trilogy, for example, and has not been sufficiently researched. She also referred to unpublished manuscripts by Dos Passos in which he expressed his concern about certain aspects of the prison system in the U.S. (JDPS, First Biennial). From Kobe College in Japan, Keiko Misugi discussed Dos Passos's critique of Theodore Roosevelt in *1919*, arguing that his biographical sketch by Dos Passos represents his "desire to reconfigure manliness for a modern world." (JDPS, First Biennial). Finally, Fredrik Tydal (University of Virginia) closed the panel devoted to the *U.S.A* Trilogy with his paper "Intimations of Empire: Dos Passos Titles the

U.S.A Trilogy.” Drawing on the study of documentation in Dos Passos’s Archives at the University of Virginia, Tydal commented on the alternate title Dos Passos had considered for the trilogy —“Course of Empire”—, and speculated with the implications that a different name choice might have had in the success of the novels.(JDPS, First Biennial)

The seventh panel of the Conference, titled “Midcentury” was opened by Jason Cannon (Texas Christian University) who presented a paper titled “The eroded Authority of Herbert Spotswood.” Cannon held that in the early 1930s “cultural conversations about family dynamics, specifically the nature of eroding authority in fatherhood, were taking place.” (Cannon 1). This same issue, Cannon argued, is examined by John Dos Passos in his novel *Adventures of a Young Man* through the character of Herbert Spotswood, “who is unable to provide either companionship or financial resources to his sons” (2). Whilst this novel has traditionally been looked at from a political perspective —representing Dos Passos’s departure from leftist politics— Cannon suggested a different social reading of the novel, that tells about changing family and gender roles in the U.S. in the 1930s (cf. 10-12). In the next paper of this panel, Robert Z. Birdwell (Penn State University) dealt with the nature of Granville Hicks’s criticism of the *U.S.A Trilogy* which remained on similar terms through time, despite the critic’s political move to the right. This, Birdwell argued, is because of the “fusion of realist and modernist styles” which make Dos Passos’s novels escape periodization and thus, remain relevant (JDPS, First Biennial). Finally, Matt Seybold (University of Alabama) addressed Dos Passos’s involvement in Doubleday’s Historical Book Series “The Mainstream of America.” Seybold argued that although the titles Dos Passos wrote for the series are always present in the author’s bibliographies, the context in which they were written is seldom referred to. He vindicated the value of those works from a historical point of view and suggested that

some of the material would be a valuable tool for teaching 20th century American History (JDPS, First Biennial).

Opening the last panel of the Conference, titled “Form”, Alexander Buk-Swenty and Philip Gyde Poulsen (University of Southern Denmark) presented their paper “A Modernist Odissey: Dos Passos’s Aesthetics and Intermedial Art.” Drawing from Dos Passos’s artwork, they established connections between his impressionistic style in painting and his writing techniques. Next came Kirk Swenson (Georgia Perimeter College) with his paper “The Dialectic of Fear and Desire in *U.S.A.*’s ‘Camera Eye’.” In this paper Dos Passos is seen as a satirist who used modernist techniques through the ‘camera eye’ with a critical consciousness (JDPS, First Biennial). In the last paper of this panel titled “Modernization and Form in *Brazil on the Move*,” Gabriela Siqueira Bitencourt (Universidade de São Paulo) addressed Dos Passos’s travel book of 1963, praising his deep insights of the country. For Siqueira, Dos Passos succeeded in giving narrative form to the social and political changes that took place in Brazil in those days. (JDPS, First Biennial).

The Biennial Conference also included an interesting teaching roundtable, in which Wesley Beal, Victoria Bryan, Aaron Shaheen and Fredrik Tydal participated. The topics raised in the roundtable included reflections on Dos Passos’s anthologies with teaching purposes, the didactic potential of using materials in the University of Virginia’s Dos Passos Archives plus the challenges of teaching Dos Passos. The speakers discussed their experiences, including the use of his radical works in the prison classroom by Bryan. The main conclusions drawn were that many aspects of Dos Passos’s writing are fully relevant today and that perhaps shorter, more accessible texts could be used at college level to encourage students for further readings

Appendix II

References for other Censorship files for other Dos Passos's works at the Archivo General de la Administración.

| Título | Nº exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Tres soldados | 5667 | 46 | 21/07919 | H. Americana |
| El número uno | 5342 | 46 | 21/07910 | Sudamericana |
| Hombre joven a la ventura | 3184 | 47 | 21/08039 | Editorial Sudamericana S.A. |
| Aventuras de un joven | 1957 | 47 | 21/07986 | H. Americana de Ediciones |
| El gran dinero | 3517 | 48 | 21/08368 | Santiago Rueda |
| 3 compañeros | 213 | 48 | 21/08138 | Octrosa |
| El gran dinero | 1436 | 49 | 21/08667 | Santiago Rueda |
| La primera catástrofe | 391 | 49 | 21/08608 | Santiago Rueda |
| El paralelo 42 | 390 | 49 | 21/08608 | Santiago Rueda |
| El paralelo 42 | 1437 | 49 | 21/08667 | Santiago Rueda |

APPENDIX II

| Título | N° exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Rocinante vuelve al camino | 419 | 49 | 21/08611 | Santiago Rueda |
| El gran proyecto | 4366 | 51 | 21/09660 | Sudamericana |
| Un lugar en la tierra | 1614 | 53 | 21/10246 | Editorial Planeta |
| El paralelo 42 | 2685 | 54 | 21/10729 | Cardinal |
| Una obra maestra americana 1919 | 3308 | 54 | 21/10744 | Cardinal |
| El paralelo 42 | 4861 | 57 | 21/11801 | Planeta |
| El gran dinero | 4962 | 57 | 21/11810 | Planeta |
| La primera catástrofe | 4961 | 57 | 21/11809 | |
| Podría salir bien | 1799 | 59 | 21/12373 | Planeta |
| Primer encuentro | 2151 | 59 | 21/12395 | Planeta |
| Rocinante vuelve al camino | 2586 | 59 | 21/12427 | Planeta |
| Tres soldados | 686 | 59 | 21/12302 | Plaza |
| Tres soldados | 2149 | 59 | 21/12395 | Planeta |
| Un lugar en la tierra | 2148 | 59 | 21/12395 | Planeta |

APPENDIX II

| Título | Nº exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Calles de la noche | 2273 | 59 | 21/12401 | Planeta |
| La primera catástrofe | 321 | 60 | 21/12647 | Planeta |
| El paralelo 42 | 320 | 60 | 21/12647 | Planeta |
| Tres soldados | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| Podría salir bien | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| Paralelo 42 | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| Calles de la noche | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| El gran dinero | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| La primera catástrofe | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| El paralelo 42 | 796 | 61 | 21/13164 | Perma Books |
| El gran dinero | 782 | 61 | 21/13163 | Squares Press |
| Un lugar en la tierra | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |
| 1919 | 791 | 61 | 21/13164 | Square Press |
| Primer encuentro | 880 | 61 | 21/13168 | Planeta |

APPENDIX II

| Título | Nº exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|---|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| En todos los países | 128 | 62 | 21/13708 | Planeta |
| Distrito de Columbia | 127 | 62 | 21/13708 | Planeta |
| Distrito de Columbia | 3429 | 62 | 21/14011 | Planeta |
| En misión del deber | 3429 | 62 | 21/14011 | Planeta |
| En misión del deber | 129 | 62 | 21/13708 | Planeta |
| En todos los países | 3429 | 62 | 21/14011 | Planeta |
| Obras completas. Tomo III | 3429 | 62 | 21/14011 | Planeta |
| Oriente Expres | 125 | 62 | 21/13707 | Planeta |
| Oriente Expres | 3429 | 62 | 21/14011 | Planeta |
| Tres obras teatrales. El basurero. Líneas aéreas limitadas. Fortune heights | 130 | 62 | 21/13709 | Planeta |
| Gran dinero, El | 4388 | 63 | 21/14689 | Planeta |
| América: los hombres que hicieron la nación | 306 | 64 | 21/14956 | Planeta |

APPENDIX II

| Título | N° exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|---|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Paralelo 4i, El | 1636 | 66 | 21/17140 | Planeta |
| Diner llarg | 6979 | 67 | 21/18378 | Ediciones 62 |
| Primera catástrofe, la. 2 ed | 3910 | 68 | 21/18939 | Planeta |
| Días mejores, Los | 11094 | 71 | 73/01335 | Rodas |
| Iniciación de un hombre 1917. Bgs | 9755 | 71 | 73/01243 | Salvat |
| Lo qué nos espera | 10931 | 73 | 73/03483 | Planeta |
| De brillante provenir | 2678 | 73 | 73/02874 | Alianza |
| Obras IV. Historia y ensayo. América | 10930 | 73 | 73/03482 | Planeta |
| Estado de la nación | 10930 | 73 | 73/03482 | Planeta |
| Hombres qué hicieron la nación, Los | 10930 | 73 | 73/03482 | Planeta |
| Libertad es el tema, La | 10930 | 73 | 73/03482 | Planeta |
| Terreno qué pisamos, El | 10931 | 73 | 73/03483 | Planeta |
| Obras V. Historia y ensayo | 10931 | 73 | 73/03483 | Planeta |

APPENDIX II

| Título | N° exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|--|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Cabeza y el corazón de Thomas Jefferson, La | 10931 | 73 | 73/03483 | Planeta |
| Obras completas 1. 3 ed | 3965 | 74 | 73/03986 | Planeta |
| Años inolvidables | 297 | 74 | 73/03746 | Alianza |
| Novelas y viajes tomo III 2 ed | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Aventuras de un joven, Las | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Distrito de Columbia | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| En misión del deber | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| En todos los países | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Gran proyecto, El | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Oriente express | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Gran dinero | 3965 | 74 | 73/03986 | Planeta |
| Paralelo 42 | 3965 | 74 | 73/03986 | Planeta |
| Primera catástrofe, La | 3965 | 74 | 73/03986 | Planeta |
| Lugar en la tierra, Un | 13614 | 74 | 73/04559 | Planeta |

APPENDIX II

| Título | Nº exp. | Año exp. | Signatura caja | Editor |
|--|----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Número uno, El | 1865 | 74 | 73/03869 | Planeta |
| Novelas. Tomo II. 3 ed | 6641 | 76 | 73/05537 | Planeta |
| Primera catástrofe, la. 1 ed. Popular mayor | 11490 | 77 | 73/06316 | Planeta |
| Paralelo. 1 ed pop mayor | 10057 | 77 | 73/06268 | Planeta |
| Paralelo 42. Col club bruguera | 8069 | 81 | 73/07618 | Bruguera |
| Tres soldados. Colec l amigo | 10891 | 81 | 73/07685 | Bruguera |

Appendix III

Historic events in *Manhattan Transfer*

(Source: www.manhattantransferproject.wikispaces.com)

- 1886 AFL strikes for 8-hour workday
- 1896 Gov. Morton signs Greater NY bill (beginning of novel)
- 1897 Pres. McKinley inaugurated
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1899-1902 Philippine-American War
- 1900 12th U.S. Census Population 76 million
- 1901 Pres. McKinley shot
- 1901-1905 Theodore Roosevelt presidency
- 1902 Muckrar's expose Standard Oil and Meatpacking Industry
- 1903 Wright Bros. fly in Kitty Hawk
- 1904 General Slocum disaster (NYC)
- 1904 U.S. acquires Panama Canal Zone
- 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War
- 1907 Intl. Anarchist Conf. of Amsterdam (Errico Malatesta)
- 1907 Mauretania arrives in New York
- 1909-1913 William H. Taft presidency
- 1910 Manhattan Transfer station opens
- 1910 13th U.S. Census 93.4 million population
- 1911 Standard Oil dissolved (Sherman Antitrust Act)
- 1911 Agadir Incident
- 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (NYC)
- 1913 J.P. Morgan dies
- 1913-1921 Woodrow Wilson presidency

1914 WWI begins
1915 Lusitania sunk by U-boat
1917 U.S. enters WWI
1917 Russian revolution
1918 Spanish influenza epidemic
1919 Armistice declared
1920 18th and 19th Amendments passed
1920 Red Scare deportations
1921-1923 Warren G. Harding presidency
1923 Charleston dance craze hits NYC (end of novel)
1925 Manhattan Transfer published

New York City landmarks

1892 Washington Square Arch
1893 Waldorf Hotel
1897 Grant's Tomb
1902 Flatiron Building
1904 Hotel Astor
1904 St. Regis Hotel
1906 Newspaper Row
1907 Plaza Hotel
1908 Fifth Avenue Hotel
1910 Mouquin's
1910 Penn Station
1913 Woolworth Building
1922 Triumph of Civic Virtue statue

U.S. Economic history

March 14, 1900. U.S. goes on Gold Standard.

1907 Financial panic hits stock market.

October 3, 1913. Federal income tax on individuals and corporations begins.

December 23, 1913. President Wilson signs Federal Reserve Act, creating a U.S. central bank.

November 16, 1914. Federal Reserve Banks open.

April 24, 1917. First Liberty Loan Act authorized, issuing \$5 billion in war bonds three weeks after America entered WWI.

February 24, 1918. Revenue Act of 1918 codifies existing tax laws.

October 28, 1919. Volstead Act (aka, National Prohibition Act) passed to enforce prohibition (through U.S. Customs Agency).

January 16, 1920. Prohibition goes into effect.

1922. World War Foreign Debt Commission established to seek repayment of U.S. War debt.

July 1948

APPENDIX IV

**Censorship files under book censorship for *Manhattan Transfer* at the
Archivo General de la Administración, Ministerio de Cultura, Spain.**

(Reproduced with permission from the Archivo General de la Administración).

July 1948



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS



EXPEDIENTE N.º 3583-48

Presentada con fecha 23-7-48
Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la
obra **MANHATTAN TRANSFER**

de la que es autor JOHN DOS PASSOS

editada por SANTIAGO RUEDA = IBER- AMER

con un volumen de 409 páginas y
una tirada de 29 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

COMPROBACION:

Sin antecedentes

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º 19

Madrid, 30 de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

S. E. P. Mod. 495-5000 el 20-11-47 - I. G. Mogerfi, S. A.

CENSORSHIP FILES

July 1948

I N F O R M E

| | | | |
|--|-----|--|-----|
| ¿Ataca al Dogma? | Sí | Páginas 48, 110, 141. | VIS |
| ¿A la Iglesia? | No | Páginas | |
| ¿A sus Ministros? | No | Páginas | |
| ¿A la moral? | Sí | Páginas 31, 32, 42, 65, 66, 82, 140, 158, 159, 193, 195, 200, 201, 213, 214, 241, 268, 271, 273, 302, 393, 394.- | |
| ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? | No | Páginas | |
| ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? | -No | Páginas | CO |

RESULTANDO *

Novela. Es la novela de Nueva York. El conjunto del libro se ve afectado por un ambiente de tácita inmoralidad, de una moral corrompida que se presenta como normalísima y representativa de la vida de la gran ciudad. Abortos, adulterios, divorcios, sodomía, y todo las variedades de los vicios nefandos.

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Madrid, 9 de Agosto de 1948

Lector,

Hecho de breves

* El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.

July 1948

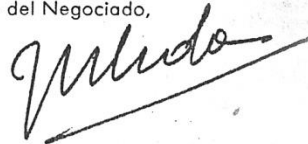
RESOLUCION

VISTO el informe del Lector, el Negociado propone la **suspendida**
su importación

Pase a Inspección

Madrid, 13 de agosto de 1948

El Jefe del Negociado,



CONFORME con la proposición del Jefe del Negociado y vistos
los antecedentes del Expediente y declaro concluso, en
sus méritos se propone **de conformidad**

Madrid, 13 de agosto de 1948

El Jefe de la Sección,



CONFORME con el Jefe de la Sección.

Madrid, de de 19

El Director General,


P.O.Hierro firmo Oficio


July 1948


Con fecha
queda hecho el depósito de los CINCO ejemplares que se
determinan para su firma y sellado en el Negociado de
Circulación.

El Jefe del Negociado:

July 1948


 MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
 SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA
 CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES


 J7444603


 CENTRO ARCHIVO 8583

Exp. núm. _____
 Registro núm. _____

IMPORTACION

19

Ilmo. Sr.: .

El que suscribe, IBER-AMER, S. A., Publicaciones Hispano-Americanas, con domicilio en Madrid, Plaza Platería Martínez, 1, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias para la edición del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.

Autor John Dos Passos.

Título MANHATTAN TRANSFER.

Editor Santiago Hueda { Domiciliado en Buenos Aires
 Calle _____

Volumen 409 páginas

Formato _____

Tirada 20

Precio de venta Ptas. 26.

Colección en que se incluye (1) _____

Madrid, 23 de julio de 1948

El solicitante,
 IBER-AMER
 PUBLICACIONES HISPANOAMERICANAS, S. A.
 P. P. [Signature]

(1) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígase expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Propaganda

July 1948



SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA



Exp.3583-48

"MANHATTAN TRANSFER".-

John Dos Passos

S. E. P. - Mod. 355 - 5 000 ejem. 23 - 1 - 46

Vista su instancia de 23^{de} julio
de 1948 solicitando la
autorización reglamentaria para la importación

de una publicación, y el dictamen emitido al
efecto:

Vista la orden de 29 de abril de 1938
(B. O. del 30), y demás disposiciones comple-
mentarias;

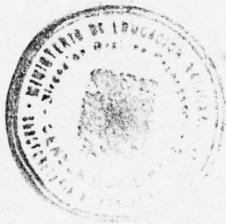
Esta Dirección general, a propuesta de la
Sección correspondiente, ha resuelto:

Denegar la autorización necesaria para la
importación de la obra por
usted solicitada.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 13 de agosto de 1948

El Director general de Propaganda,



Sr. D. IBER AMER.-Plateria Martinez nº 1.-MADRID

February 1949



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1435-49

Presentada con fecha 21-3-49

Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la
obra **MANHATTAN TRANSFER**

de la que es autor **JOHN BOS PASSOS**

editada por **SANTIAGO RUEDA = OTEYZA**

con un volumen de 409 páginas y
una tirada de 100 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

COMPROBACION:

Exp. 3583-48. Susp. 13-8-48

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

S. E. P. Mod. 485-5.000 ej. 31-8-48—I. G. Magerit, S. A.

February 1949

I N F O R M E

| | |
|--|---------|
| ¿Ataca al Dogma? | Páginas |
| ¿A la Iglesia? | Páginas |
| ¿A sus Ministros? | Páginas |
| ¿A la moral? | Páginas |
| ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? | Páginas |
| ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? | Páginas |

RESULTANDO* *comprobado el exp n° 3583-48*
esta suspenso el 13-III-48

Madrid 23 de *III* de 19

Lector,

[Signature]

* El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.

February 1949

RESOLUCION

VISTO el informe del Lector, el Negociado propone la suspensión
de su importación

Madrid, 25 de marzo de 1949

Pase a Inspeccion

El Jefe del Negociado,

CONFORME con la proposición del Jefe del Negociado y vistos
los antecedentes del Expediente y declaro concluso, en
sus méritos se propone de conformidad



Madrid, 25 de marzo de 1949

El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con el Jefe de la Sección

Madrid, de de 19

El Director General,

P.O.EL JEFE SECCION,firmo Oficio

February 1949

Con fecha
queda hecho el depósito de los CINCO ejemplares que se
determinan para su firma y sellada en el Negociado de
Circulación.

El Jefe del Negociado,

February 1949



SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

Exp. 1435-49

"MANHATTAN-TRASSFER"
John Dos Passos.

Vista su instancia de 21 de marzo
de 1949 solicitando la
autorización reglamentaria para la importación

de una publicación, y el dictamen emitido al
efecto;

Vista la orden de 29 de abril de 1938
(B. O. del 30). y demás disposiciones comple-
mentarias;

Esta Dirección general, a propuesta de la
Sección correspondiente, ha resuelto:

Denegar la autorización necesaria para la
importación de la obra por
usted solicitada.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 25 de marzo de 1949

El Director general de Propaganda,



Sr. D. JOAQUIN DE OTEYZA.-Alcantara nº 13.-MADRID

S. E. P. - Mod. 355 - 5 000 ejem. 23 - 1 - 46

February 1949

IMPORTACION

Exp. núm.

Registro núm.

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, JOAQUIN DE OTEYZA Y GARCIA, con domicilio en Madrid calle de Alcántara número 13, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias para la importación del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.

Autor John Dos PassosTítulo MANHATTAN TRANSFEREditor SANTIAGO RUEDA

Domiciliado en Buenos Aires

Calle Floridanúm. 377Volumen 409 páginasFormato cuartoEjemplares importados 100.- Según aviso de expediciónPrecio de venta 28.-- ptasColección en que se incluye ⁽¹⁾Madrid, 18 de Marzo de 1949

El solicitante,

JOAQUÍN DE OTEYZA
P. A.

(1) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Propaganda.

October 1957

MT.I.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Sección de Inspección de Libros

EXPEDIENTE N.º 4558-57

Presentada con fecha 4 de Octubre del.957
instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra "MANHATTAN TRANSFER"

de la que es autor John Dos Passos

editada por Editorial Planeta

con un volumen de 181 páginas
y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, 4 de Octubre de 1957

El Jefe de Lectorado,

Mod. 485.-10.000.-8-57

ANTECEDENTES:

*Expte 1435-49**Supp imp 25-3-59*

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don *24*

Madrid, *8* de *X* de 195*7*

El Jefe de Lectorado,

October 1957

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? No

Páginas

¿A la Moral? No

Páginas

¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? NO

Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? No

Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? No

Páginas

Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Novela que se desenvuelve en los bajos fondos neoyorquinos. Consiguientemente, en un plano amoral y arreligioso, aunque nada en ella impugna la moral o la religión.

PUEDE AUTORIZARSE

Madrid, 18 de octubre de 1957
El Lector,

P. Morán 20

October 1957

RESULTADO

se propone la AUTORIZACION

Madrid, 21 de octubre de 1957

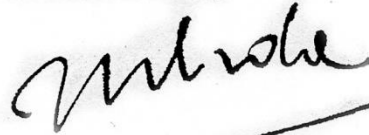
El Jefe de Lectorado,

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser autorizada.

Madrid, 21 de octubre de 1957

El Jefe de la Sección,



CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 1957
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,



October 1957

Solicitada autorización para CIRCULACION queda comprobada la congruencia entre los textos objeto de esta resolución.

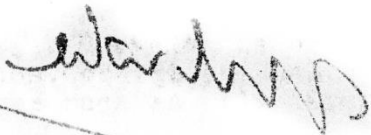
Madrid, de de 195

El Oficial encargado de Comprobación,

Con esta fecha queda hecho el depósito de los ejemplares que se determinan, cuya remisión se hace según órdenes de la Superioridad; e igualmente se procede a la oportuna anotación de esta diligencia en los Ficheros.

Madrid, de de 195

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'W. A. ...', is written over a horizontal line.

April 1960

20

ILMO. SEÑOR:

El que suscribe, Dn. E. Santiago Galán Conde, con domicilio en esta Capital, calle de Mayor, nº. 4 y como Representante de la Editorial que indica, **S O L I C I T A**

La autorización reglamentaria que exige la orden del 29 de Abril de 1.938 y disposiciones complementarias, para la edición del libro cuyas características se indican:

AUTOR John dos Passos

TITULO MANHATTAN TRANSFER

Domiciliado en Barcelona

EDITOR Planeta

Fernando Agulló, 12

VOLUMEN 418 (Cuatrocientas dieciocho)

FORMATO 4º

TIRADA 2.000

COLECCION LITERATURA

Precio 100 Ptas.

Madrid, 5 de Enero de 1.9 60

EL SOLICITANTE

ILMO. SEÑOR DIRECTOR GENERAL DE INFORMACIÓN MADRID.

Stamp: ESPECIAL PARA LA FOTOCOPIA DE DOCUMENTOS

Stamp: MUTUALIDAD DE FUNCIONARIOS DE INFORMACIÓN 5 PESETAS APORTACIÓN VOLUNTARIA ENTRADA

Stamp: ARCHIVO

Handwritten: 7.13.1-60

April 1960



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Sección de Inspección de Libros



EXPEDIENTE N.º 20-60

Presentada con fecha 5-I-60
instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra **MANHATTAN TRANSFER**
de la que es autor **JOHN DOS PASSOS**

editada por **PLANETA**

con un volumen de 418 páginas
y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares

Madrid, 5 de Enero de 19 60

El Jefe de Lectorado,

ANTECEDENTES:

Exp. 4558-52
Aut. 21.10.52
Romero

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros

PASE AL LECTOR Don

Madrid 12 de 1 de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-2000-41-59

April 1960

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma?

Páginas

¿A la moral?

Páginas

¿A la Iglesia o a sus ministros?

Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?

Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?

Páginas

Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?


Informe y otras observaciones:

Por la revisión de esta obra se mantiene para ella el mismo favorable criterio de AUTORIZABLE con que figura calificada en nuestro archivo, por tratarse de lectura totalmente inofensiva.

AUTORIZABLE nuevamente

Madrid, 13 de enero de 1960

El Lector,



April 1960

RESULTADO

se propone la AUTORIZACION

Madrid, 14 de enero de 19 60

El Jefe de Lectorado,



R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser autorizada

Madrid, 14 de enero de 19 60

El Jefe de la Sección,




CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 19
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

April 1960

Solicita autorización para CIRCULACION queda comprobado lo congruencia entre los textos objeto de esta resolución.

Madrid, de de 19
El Oficial encargado de Comprobación,

Con esta fecha queda hecho el depósito de los ejemplares que se determinan, cuya remisión se hace según ordenes de la Superioridad, e igualmente se procede a la oportuna anotación de esta diligencia en los ficheros.

Madrid, de **28 ABR. 1960** de 19
El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

April 1960

EXPEDIENTE NUM. 20-60

En el día de la fecha se hace entrega en la Sección de Inspección de Libro de la Dirección General de Información de tres ejemplares de la obra titulada MANHATTAN TRANSFER

de la que es autor John Dos Passos

El editor que suscribe declara bajo su responsabilidad, que los ejemplares presentados son de idénticas características a los que se distribuyen a partir de esta fecha y que el contenido de la obra es idéntico al del original que fué autorizado con el n.º de Registro 20-60

Madrid, a 22 de Abril de 1960

EL EDITOR,



(Firma completa y sello)

April 1960

62-41

1

31 ESPECIAL PARA PORTADAS

31 PESETA

OFICINA DE INFORMACIÓN

MUTUALIDAD DE FUNCIONARIOS

CHIVO

Excmo. Señor:

El que suscribe, Dn. E. Santiago Galán Conde, con domicilio en esta Capital, calle de Mayor nº 4 y como Representante de la Editorial Planeta domiciliada en Barcelona, calle Fernando Agulló nº 12

ASUNTO: Aprobación de Portadas.

S O L I C I T A

La autorización reglamentaria para las portadas que ha de -- llevar el libro titulado MANHATTAN TRANSFER de John Dos Passos cuyo expediente lleva el nº. 20-60.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, 28 de abril de 1.960

EL SOLICITANTE

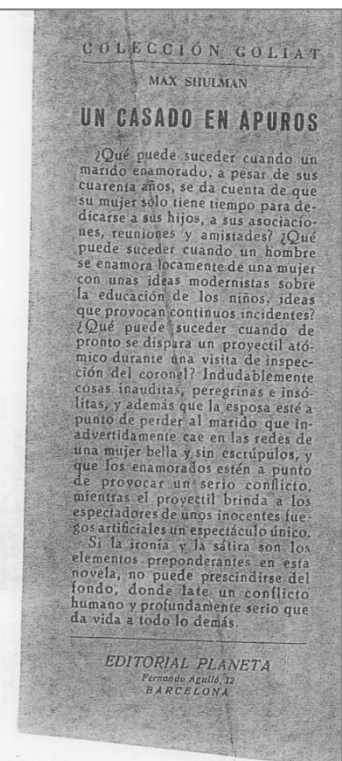
[Signature]

Ilmo. Señor Director General de Información. - Madrid.

February 1961



→ anexo ?



February 1961

P.B.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Sección de Inspección de Libros



EXPEDIENTE N.º 880-61

Presentada con fecha 11-2-61

instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra **OBRAS COMPLETAS (Tomo I) Relacion a**
al dorso

de la que es autor **JOHN DOS PASOS**

editada por **PLANETA**

con un volumen de **1.730**

páginas

y una tirada de **2.000**

ejemplares.

Madrid, 11 de Febrero de 1961

El Jefe de Lectorado,

ANTECEDENTES:

En hoja adjunta

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don *F. (García)*

Madrid, 14 de

de 1961

El Jefe de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-10.000-3-60

February 1961

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma?

Páginas

¿A la moral?

Páginas

¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?

Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?

Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?

Páginas

Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
I de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

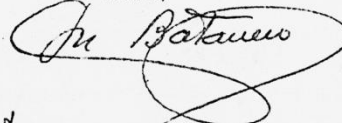
Las obras "Manhattan Transp.", "Paralelo 42", y "da 1ª Catástrofe" autorizadas anteriormente.
 El "Gran Dinero" ha respetado las tachaduras que se le pusieron para autorizarla como "tolerada", correspondiendo así las supresiones:

| Galerada | Texto actual |
|-------------|--------------|
| 619 - - - - | 1387 |
| 679 - - - - | 1510 |
| 681 - - - - | 1514 |
| 673 - - - - | 1497 |
| 730 - - - - | 1621 |
| 731 - - - - | 1623 |

Madrid, 16 de 2

de 1961

El Lector,



Puede autorizarse por tanto

February 1961

RELACION QUE SE CITA

- 1) MANHATTAN TRANSFER por John Dos Pasos. Exp.20-60
- 2) PARALELO 42 " " " " " 320-60
- 3) LA PRIMERA CATASTROFE " " " " " 321-60
- 4) EL GRAN DINERO " " " " " 4962-57

-
- 1) Autorizada 14-1-60
 - 2) Autorizada 27-1-60
 - 3) Autorizada 26-1-60
 - 4) Suspendida en principio y AUTORIZADA en reemplazo
con tachaduras 16-12-60



February 1961

se propone la AUTORIZACION

Madrid, 18 de Febrero de 1961

El Jefe de Lectorado,

PB

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe del Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser autorizada

Madrid, 18 de Febrero de 1961

El Jefe de la Sección,



[Handwritten signature]

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 196

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL.

February 1961

Solicitada autorización para CIRCULACION queda comprobada la congruencia entre los textos objeto de esta resolución.

Madrid, de de 196

El Oficial encargado de Comprobación,

Con esta fecha queda hecho el depósito de los ejemplares que se determinan, cuya remisión se hace según órdenes de la Superioridad, e igualmente se procede a la oportuna anotación de esta diligencia en los Ficheros.

Madrid, 21 OCT 1961 de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros

February 1961

EXPEDIENTE NUM 880-61

En el día de la fecha se hace entrega en la Sección de Inspección de Libro de la Dirección General de
Información de tres ejemplares de la obra titulada OBRAS COMPLETAS.TOMO I

de la que es autor John Dos Passos

El editor que suscribe declara bajo su responsabilidad, que los ejemplares presentados son de idénticas
características a los que se distribuyen a partir de esta fecha y que el contenido de la obra es idéntico al del
original que fué autorizado con el n.º de Registro 880-61

Madrid, a 21 de octubre de 1961

EL EDITOR,



(Firma completa y sello)


February 1961

RELACION DE OBRAS AUTORIZADAS AL TOMO I DE LAS OBRAS
COMPLETAS DE JHON DOS PASSOS

- MANHATAN TRANSFER
- PARALELO 42
- LA PRIMERA CATASTROFE
- EL GRAN DINERO

Madrid, 18 de febrero de 1.961

February 1961


MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
 INSPECCION DE LIBROS

Exp. núm. _____

DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
DE I FORMACION
 14 FEB. 1961

00880

Ilmo Sr. _____

El que suscribe D.E. Santiago Galán, Representante de Edit. PLANETA

con domicilio en Madrid calle San Eugenio núm. 8

solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 25 de marzo de 1944 (1), y disposiciones complementarias para la edición del texto que se adjunta y cuyas características se indican.

Autor John Dos Passos

Título OBRAS COMPLETAS (TOMO I) (Relación de las obras que componen este Tomo I y expedientes de aprobación, véase al dorso)

Editor Planeta } Domiciliado en Barcelona

Calle Fernando Agulló núm. 12

Páginas 1730

Formato 4º


Tirada 2.000

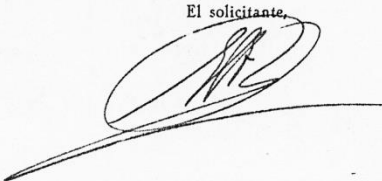
Precio de venta 100 pts.

Colección en que se incluyen (2) Literatura

Madrid, 11 de febrero de 196 1

El solicitante,


 17-II-61



(1) Táchese lo que no proceda.
 (2) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Informacion.

February 1961

OBRAS QUE COMPONEN EL TOMO I DE LAS OBRAS COMPLETAS DE JOHN DOS PASSOS



"MANHATTAN TRANSFER" por John Dos Passos. Expediente 20-60

"PARALELO 42" " " " 320-60

"LA PRIMERA CATASTROFE" " " " 321-60

"EL GRAN DINERO" " " " 4962-57

February 1961

115

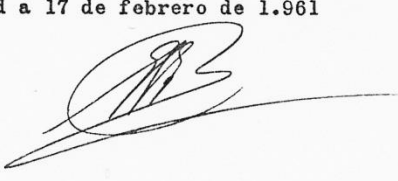
Ilmo. Señor:

El que suscribe D. E. Santiago Galán

Conde, con domicilio en esta Capital, calle San Eugenio, 8, y como Representante de la Editorial PLANETA, de Barcelona, a V.I. con todo respeto S O L I C I T A la autorización correspondiente para poner en circulación de venta las GALERADAS DEL TOMO II de las OBRAS COMPLETAS de John Dos Passos, cuyo Tomo I fue presentado a la Censura con el número de Expediente 880-61.

Dios guarde a V.I. muchos años

Madrid a 17 de febrero de 1.961




"UN LUGAR EN LA TIERRA"
Expd. 2148-59

"PODRIA SALIR BIEN"
Expd. 1799-59

"TRES SOLDADOS"
Expd. 2149-59

"PRIMER ENCUENTRO"
Expd. 2151-59

"CALLES DE LA NOCHE"
Expd. 2273-59



Señor
22-II-61

ILMO. SEÑOR DIRECTOR GENERAL DE INFORMACION.- M A D R I D

February 1966



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Información

Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica

db.

EXPEDIENTE N.º 1171-66



Presentada con fecha

-7 FEB. 1966

instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra **MANHATTAN TRANSFER**

de la que es autor **DOS PASSOS, John**

editada por **Plaza Janes**

con un volumen de 379 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid, de -7 FEB. 1966 de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

2686-64- Aut. Catalán
P.B.

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 10

Madrid, 9 de 2 de 1966

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

Mod. 485

February 1966

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?
Informe y otras observaciones:

*Procede mantener la autori-
zación concedida en el año 1955, con
el número de expediente 2584
a la novela, "Manhattan Trans-
fer"*

PUEDE AUTORIZARSE

Madrid, 10 de 2 de 1966
El Lector,

pi dupfils

February 1966

RESULTADO

Se propone la **AUTORIZACION**

Madrid, de 11 FEB 1966 de 196

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

Fajardo

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe de la Sección de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, este Servicio estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser **AUTORIZADA**

11 FEB 1966

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe del Servicio,



CONFORME con el Servicio.

Madrid, de de 196

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

February 1966

Solicita autorización para CIRCULACION. Queda comprobada la congruencia entre los textos objeto de esta resolución.

Madrid, de de 196
El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

Con esta fecha queda hecho el depósito de los ejemplares que se determinan, cuya remisión se hace según órdenes de la Superioridad, e igualmente se procede a la oportuna anotación de esta diligencia en los Ficheros.

Madrid, de **11 MAR. 1966** de 196
El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PA

February 1966

PLAZA & JANES, S. A., EDITORES, con domicilio en Madrid, calle de Juan de
Mena, núm. 14, con el debido respeto y consideración a V. I. tiene el honor de

EXPONER: Que siendo editora de la obra titulada MANHATTAN TRANSFER
de la que es autor John Dos Passos
cuya publicación ha sido autorizada con fecha 10-2-66 bajo el número de expediente 1171 deseando que la referida obra lleve la portada cuyas reproducciones adjunta, es por lo que con la mayor subordinación

SUPLICA: a V. I. se digné dar las órdenes oportunas, si a ello ha lugar, a fin de que sea autorizada la impresión de la portada de la obra reseñada.

Es gracia que espera alcanzar de V. I. cuyo vida guarde Dios muchos años.

Madrid, 7 de marzo de 1966

P. O.

SECCION DE ORIENTACION EDITORIAL
AUTORIZADO

8-2-66

[Signature]

DE INFORMACION
- 7 MAR 1966

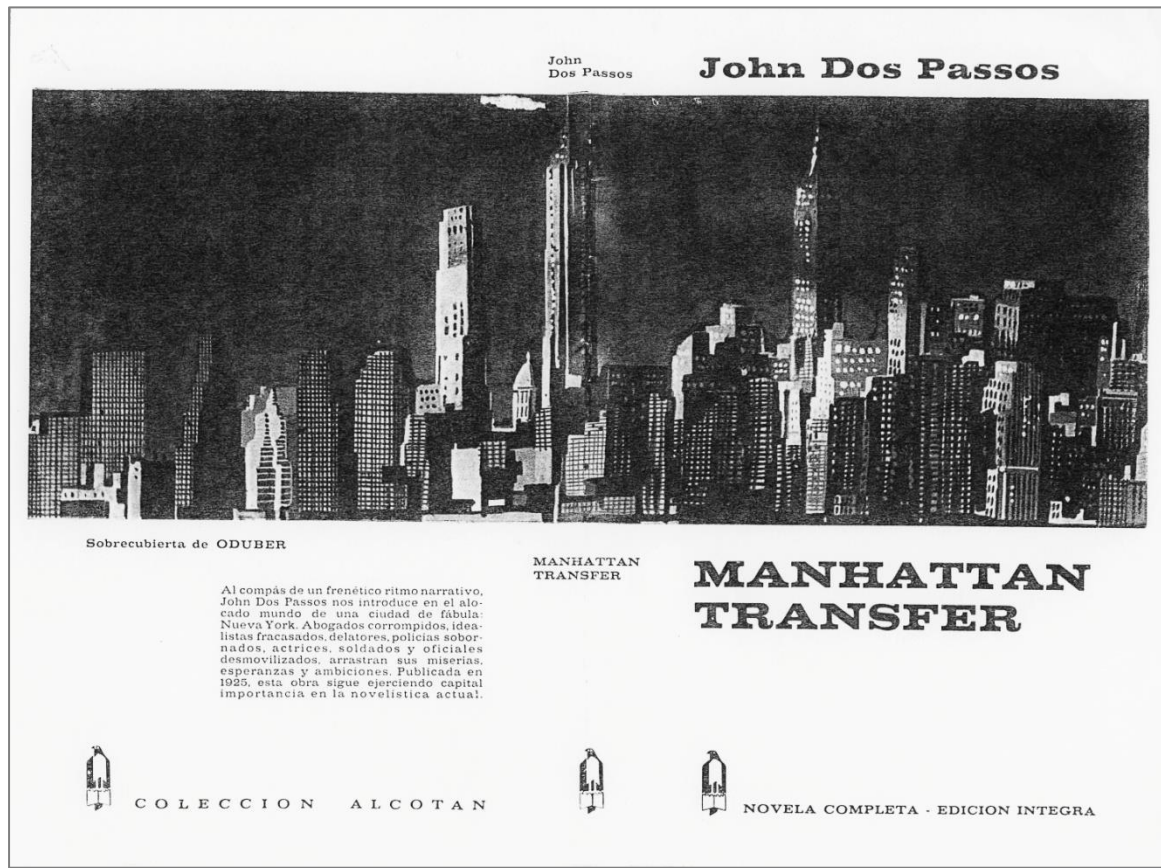
ENTRADA

97.º

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE INFORMACION

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO. — Madrid

February 1966



February 1966

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACIÓN Y TURISMO

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE INFORMACIÓN

INSPECCIÓN DE LIBROS

Exp. núm. 1171

nt. 10. 11. 66
Fajardo

Ilmo. Sr.

El que suscribe CARLOS PLAZA DE DIEGOcon domicilio en Madrid calle Juan de Mena núm. 14solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 25 de marzo de 1944
Orden de 29 de abril de 1938 (1), y disposiciones complementarias para la edición del texto que se adjunta y cuyas características se indican.Autor John Dos Passos,Título MANHATTAN TRANSFEREditor PLAZA & JANESDomiciliado en MadridCalle Juan de Mena núm. 14Volumen 379 páginasFormato OctavoTirada 3.000 ejemplares

Precio de venta _____

Colección en que se incluyen (2) LiteraturaMadrid, 4 de febrero de 1966

El solicitante,

p.o.

(1) Táchese lo que no proceda.

(2) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

February 1966

EXPEDIENTE NUM. 1171/66

En el día de la fecha se hace entrega en la Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica de la Dirección General de Información de tres ejemplares de la obra titulada "Manhattan Transfer"

de la que es autor John Dos Passos

El editor que suscribe declara bajo su responsabilidad que los ejemplares presentados son de idénticas características a los que se distribuyen a partir de esta fecha, y que el contenido de la obra es idéntico al del original que fue autorizado con el número de Registro 1171/66

Manuel

11 de

EL EDITOR,

11 de Marzo de 1966

PLAZA JUANES S.A.
EDITORES

(Firma completa y sello)

April 1974

DEPOSITO

Ministerio de Información y Turismo
Dirección General de Cultura Popular
Sección de Régimen Editorial

ARCHIVO

Complidos los requisitos del Depósito previo a la inscripción, extendido por el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.
Madrid, de 197

ro
EXPEDIENTE N.º 3965-74

Presentada con fecha **21 ABR. 1974**
instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial
del depósito de la obra **OBRAS COMPLETAS 1**
3ª ed. relacion adjun^{ta}
de la que es autor **DOS PASSOS, John**

editada por **Planeta**

con un volumen de **1575** páginas
y una tirada de **3.000** ejemplares.

Madrid, de **1 ABR. 1974** de 197
El Jefe del Negociado de Tramitación,

ANTECEDENTES: **880-61**
Adpt. TP
El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **14**
Madrid, **1** de **4** de 197 **4**
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-2

April 1974

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Procede mantener el criterio expresado según
antecedentes Exp.880/61, ya que esta tercera
edición de novelas de John Dos Passos no ha su-
frido alteración alguna.

ACEPTADO

Madrid, 2 de ABRIL de 197⁴

El lector,

D. Vázquez

April 1974

RESULTADO

Se propone la

Madrid, de de 197

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,



R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 197

El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección.

Madrid, de de 197

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,

April 1974

Con esta fecha queda hecho el depósito de los ejemplares que se determinan, cuya remisión se hace según órdenes de la Superioridad, e igualmente se procede a la oportuna anotación de esta diligencia en los ficheros.

Madrid, de de 197

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

April 1974

N.º EXPEDIENTE:

TITULO:

AUTOR:

EDITOR:

PAGINAS:

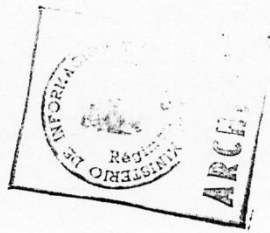
TIRADA:

Mod. 509 UNE A-5

April 1974

Relacion que se cita

GRAN DINERO, El
MANHATTAN TRANSFER
PARALELO 42
PRIMERA CATASTROFE, La



February 1962

IV

00211

CONVENIO TIMBRE
L - 16 - 1962

VISADO

Ilmo. Sr.

La Firma Charles Roos S.L.,
con domicilio en Madrid, calle/plaza
de Hortaleza, n.º 23, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación, por triplicado, de obras im-
portadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su
circulación y venta en territorio nacional, si
así lo estima pertinente.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.
Madrid, a 6 de Febrero de 1962.

Inspección de Libros
Licencias de Importación
DILIGENCIADO
Fecha 19-2-62
El Jefe del Negociado
Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL
DE INFORMACIÓN
6 FEB. 1962
ENTRADA 77.º

CHARLES ROOS
S.L.
HORTALEZA, 23
Tel. 222 60 63
MADRID

P.O.
Teo Teo

Francia A12 149
3-II-62

February 1962



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
INSPECCION DE LIBROS

Exp. n.º I/211.62

(Cítese en la correspondencia)

LH/ma. S/304/62

Vista su instancia de fecha 6.2.62
y examinadas las obras que la acompa-
ñan, esta Dirección General ha dis-
puesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras n.º 2 a 12, 15,
17, 18, 19, 21 a 25 inclusive

cuyo N.º de Registro se hace constar en
la relación adjunta.

Se DENIEGAN las obras n.º 1, 13, 14, 16
y 20

que deberán ser devueltas al país de
procedencia, en virtud de la Orden Mi-
nisterial de fecha 16-VII-45 (Boletín
Oficial 28-VII-45).

Madrid, 19 de febrero de 1.962

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

P. El Director General de Información,

Sr. D. CHARLES ROOS.-Madrid.

Mod. 932

RECORDS FOR IMPORTED COPIES

February 1962

Expediente N.º I/211.62

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

CHARLES ROOS= MADRID

| N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ej. | AUTOR | TITULO |
|------------------------------|----------------|------------|----------------|---|
| <i>No</i> D 1 | --- | 1 | Flaubert | Madame Bovary 22-60 713-4 |
| • 2 | 20232.61 | 1 | Zweig | La pitie dangereuse 716-7 |
| • 3 | 794 | 1 | Suetone | Vies des douze Ceasrs 718-9 |
| • 4 | 795 | 1 | Kipling | Kim 723-4 |
| • S.45 | 796 | 1 | Bertrand | Louis XIV Biografia 728-9 |
| • S.96 | 20238.61 | 1 | Rolland | Jean Christophe Tome I 734-5 |
| <i>Un solo N.º R.º</i> { D 7 | 696 | 1 | Dumas | Vingt ans après " I 6118.61 736-7 |
| • 8 | 720 | 1 | " | " " " " II 738-9 |
| • 9 | 2728.61 | 1 | Dos Passos | Manhattan Transfer 20-60 740-1 |
| • 10 | 20239.61 | 1 | Hamsun | Vagabonds 662-52 743-4 |
| • S.41 | 20240.61 | 1 | Roche | Jeunesse de Renny 745-6 |
| • 12 | 21158.61 | 1 | Anouilh | La Sauvage suivi de 748-9 |
| <i>No</i> D 13 | --- | 1 | Balzac | La Pere Goriot 198-64 757-8 |
| <i>No</i> D 14 | --- | 1 | Celine | D'un Chateau L'Autre 761-2 <i>Den.</i> |
| • 15 | 140 | 1 | Greene | Les Naufragues 764-5 |
| <i>No</i> D 16 | --- | 1 | Stendhal | Amiel Amiel suivi de Armance 766-7 <i>Den.</i> |
| • 17 S.9 | 729 | 1 | Blondin | Reminiscences de la guerre L'Europe buissonniere 774-5 |
| • 18 | 141 | 1 | Wells | La Machine á explorer la temps 786-7 |
| • 19 S.2 | 20238.61 | 1 | Rolland | Jeab-Christophe Tome II 779-80 |
| <i>No</i> S.420 | --- | 1 | Zola | La Joie de vivre Et el Index " 797-8 |
| • A 21 | 730 | 1 | Guitton | Jesus 3977-61 A 1 |
| • 22 | 19639.61 | 1 | Saint Augustin | Confessions A 3-A4 |
| • S.423 | 731 | 1 | Nadaud | La Chasse <i>Caza</i> |
| • 24 | 16580.61 | 1 | Wertheimer | Cleopatre |
| • 25 | 16581.61 | 1 | Grousset | L'epopée des croisades |

Observaciones:

April 1964

Autorizada y denegada
E-V-64
P. Penz

573

VISADO

Ilmo. Sr.

La Firma Charles Roos S.L.,
con domicilio en Madrid, calle/plaza
de D. Ramon de la Cruz, n.º 62, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación, por triplicado, de obras im-
portadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su
circulación y venta en territorio nacional, si
así lo estima pertinente.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, a _____ de _____ de 19____

27 *condonance*

A-12-14-4-64
Francisco 38 ptes

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información

CHARLES ROOS S. L.
D. Ramon de la Cruz, 62
Teléfono 27673 68
MADRID-1

PTAS 3
MUTUALIDAD DE FUNCIONARIOS
INFORMACION TURISTICA
5 PESETAS
APORTACION VOLUNTARIA

April 1964



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION

INSPECCION DE LIBROS

fe.

Exp. n.º I.-573-64

(Cítese en la correspondencia)

Vista su instancia de fecha 20-4-64
y examinadas las obras que la acompa-
ñan, esta Dirección General ha dis-
puesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras n.º 1 a la 14 y
16 a la 24 inclusive,

cuyo N.º de Registro se hace constar en
la relación adjunta.

SE DENIEGAN las obras n.º 15

que deberán ser devueltas al país de
procedencia, en virtud de la Orden Mi-
nisterial de fecha 16-VII-45 (Boletín
Oficial 28-VII-45).

Madrid, 2 de mayo de 1964.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

D. El Director General de Información,

Mod. 392

r. D. CHARLES ROOS.- M A D R I D.-

April 1964

Expediente N.º I.- 573-64

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

Libre de Poche

CHARLES ROOS


| N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ej. | AUTOR | TITULO | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------------|---------------|--|-----------|
| Si 1 | 1607-62 1607-62 | 10 | R.Wright | Black Boy | 812.2 |
| Li 2 | 20238-61 20238-61 | 10 | R.Rolland | Jean Chistophe T. XII | 806.7 |
| Li 3 | 2104-62 2104-62 | 10 | L.Bloy | Le Desespere | 817.8 |
| Li 4 | 20238-61 20238-61 | 10 | R.Rolland | Jean Cristomphe T. 2 | 779.0 |
| Li 5 | 140-62 140-62 | 10 | G.Greene | Les Naufrages | 764.5 |
| Li 6 | 20240-61 20240-61 | 10 | M.de al Roche | Jeunesse de Renny | 745.6 |
| Li 7 | 1955-62 1955-62 | 10 | G.Bernanos | Les Grands cimetiars sous la Lune | 819.0 |
| Li 8 | 21158-61 21158-61 | 10 | G.Ancilh | La Sauvage | 748.0 |
| Li 9 | 2371-62 2371-62 | 10 | H.de Monfreid | La Groisiere du Hachich | 834.5 |
| Li 10 | 2494-62 2494-62 | 10 | L.Bromefield | Precoce Automne | 829.0 |
| Li 11 | 20239-61 20239-61 | 10 | K.Hamsun | Vagabonds | 743.4 |
| Li 12 | 20728-61 20728-61 | 10 | J.dos Passos | Mamhattan Transfer | 740.1 |
| Li 13 | 20232-61 20232-61 | 10 | S.Zweig | La Petie Dangereuse | 716.7 |
| Li 14 | 7788-63 7788-63 | 10 | H.Perruchot | La Vie de Cezanne | 487.8 |
| No 15 | 12205-63 12205-63 | 10 | E.Zola | Immoral e Irreverente La Faute de l'abbé Mouret | 69.0 69.0 |
| Li 16 | 12205-63 12205-63 | 10 | G.de Gaulle | Memoires de Guerre L'Appel | 389.0 |
| Li 17 | 15.213 15.213 | 10 | S.Zweig | Marie -antoinette | 386.7 |
| Li 18 | 12143-63 12143-63 | 10 | A.Maurois | Le Cercle de Famille | 482.3 |
| Li 19 | 15.214 15.214 | 10 | A.Lanoux | Le Commandant Watrin | 479.0 |
| Li 20 | 20025-61 20025-61 | 10 | F.Mauriac | Le Mystere Frontenac | 359 |
| Li 21 | 12202-63 12202-63 | 10 | P.Benoit | Pour don Carlos | 375 |
| Li 22 | 12200-63 12200-63 | 10 | M.C.Weyer | Un Homme se Penche sur son Passe | 371 |
| Li 23 | 1332-62 1332-62 | 10 | J.Grechan | Le Viathan | 361 |
| Li 24 | 12146-63 12146-63 | 10 | H.Mac Goy | on acheve bien les Chevaux | 489 |
| 25 | | | | | |

Observaciones:

VA.
20-4-64

RECORDS FOR IMPORTED COPIES

February 1966



VISADO

222

Ilmo. Sr.

DICTAMEN

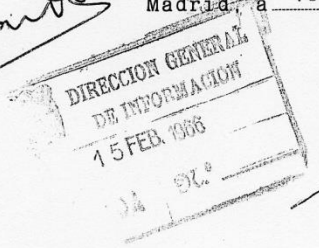
SE ADMITEN todos los títulos de la adjunta relación con la salvedad de que el 2 y el 18 deben limitarse a los ejemplares pedidos, por una sola vez, ~~res se incluyen algunos poemas inadmisibles. También el 16 debe limitarse en las mismas condiciones, por pasajes demasiado escabrosos.~~

La Firma VISOR LIBROS con domicilio en Madrid calle/plaza de Leganitos n.º 35, eleva a V. I. la adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras impresas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su circulación y venta en territorio nacional, si así lo estima pertinente

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid a 15 de Febrero de 1966

Fajardo



Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

February 1966



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION

Orientación Bibliográfica

fm.

Exp. n.º I.- 222-66

(Cítese en la correspondencia)

Vista su instancia de fecha 15-2-66
y examinadas las obras que la acompa-
ñan, esta Dirección General ha dis-
puesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras n.º 1 a la 17
y 19 a la 23 inclusive,

cuyo N.º de Registro se hace constar en
la relación adjunta.

SE DENIEGAN las obras n.º 18

que deberán ser devueltas al país de
procedencia, en virtud de la Orden Mi-
nisterial de fecha 16-VII-45 (Boletín
Oficial 28-VII-45).

Madrid, 24 de febrero de 1966.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

p. El Director General de Información,

Sr. D. V I S O R .- MADRID.-

RECORDS FOR IMPORTED COPIES

February 1966

Expediente n.º I.- 222-66

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

V I S O R

| | N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ej. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|----|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| SI | 1 | 19588-61 | 25 | Kipling | En paises de frio y en paises de sol | Juvenil |
| SI | 2 | 12961-63 | 50 | Cernuda | La realidad y el deseo | Cons.Nacional |
| SI | 3 | 26.028 | 10 | Lopez Ubeda | La picara Justina 2900-65 | " " |
| SI | 4 | 16945-64 | 10 | Manrique | Poesias | " " |
| SI | 5 | 26.029 | 10 | Boscany Garcilaso | Poesia | " " |
| SI | 6 | 19534-61 | 10 | Gabriel Miró | Figuras de la Pasión del Señor | " " |
| SI | 7 | 215-62 | 10 | Rojas | La Celestina | " " |
| SI | 8 | 10944-63 | 25 | Flaubert | Madame Bobary | " " |
| SI | 9 | 19980-61 | 25 | Jimenez | Platero y yo | Juvenil |
| SI | 10 | 26.030 | 25 | Castillo y Solano | La garduña de Sevilla 929.50 | Cons.Nacional |
| SI | 11 | 26.031 | 25 | Stevenson | Cuentos | " " |
| SI | 12 | 26.032 | 25 | Varios | La Generación del 98 | " " |
| SI | 13 | 10058-63 | 25 | Ruben Dario | Antologia poetica | Bib.Pueblo |
| SI | 14 | 4745-62 | 25 | LORCA | Divan del Tamerit | Min.Educación |
| SI | 15 | 26.033 | 10 | Gomez Avellaneda | Teatro | Cons.Nacional |
| SI | 16 | 13283-63 | 10 | Joyce | Retrato del artista adolescente | " " |
| SI | 17 | 20728-61 | 125 | Dos Passos | Manhattan Transfer | " " |
| NO | 18 | 81-1-1-25 | 25 | Machado | Poesias completas | " " |
| SI | 19 | 1859-62 | 25 | Guirnaides | Don Segundo Sombra | N.America |
| SI | 20 | 5262-62 | 25 | Shakespeare | Tres comedias | Cons.Nacional |
| SI | 21 | 6700-62 | 25 | Steinbeck | Las viñas de la ira | " " |
| SI | 22 | 19491-65 | 25 | Unamuno | Vida de D. Quijote y Sancho | " " |
| SI | 23 | 26.034 | 10 | Saint-John Perse | se n Lluvías | Centro |
| | 24 | | | | | |
| | 25 | | | | | |

Observaciones:

18-2-66

March 1966

16

484

VISADO

11mo. Sr.

Autorizados
1-4-66
proceder
Gajardo

Mod. 931

La Firma COMERCIAL ATHENEUM S.A.
con domicilio en Madrid calle/plaza
de Vergara n.º 9, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras im-
portadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su
circulación y venta en territorio nacional, si
así lo estima pertinente

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, a 24 de marzo de 1966.

COMERCIAL ATHENEUM, S. A.
P. P.

[Signature]

24 MAR. 1966
ENTRADA 9Lº

11mo. Sr. Director General de Información.

March 1966



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION

Orientación Bibliográfica

fm.

Exp. n.º 1.-484-66
(Cfese en la correspondencia)

Vista su instancia de fecha 24-3-66
y examinadas las obras que la acompa-
ñan, esta Dirección General ha dis-
puesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras n.º 1 a la 8
inclusive.

cuyo N.º de Registro se hace constar en
la relación adjunta.

SE DENIEGAN las obras n.º 9 a la 10

que deberán ser devueltas al país de
procedencia, en virtud de la Orden Mi-
nisterial de fecha 16-VII-45 (Boletín
Oficial 28-VII-45).

Madrid, 2 de abril de 1966.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

P. El Director General de Información,

Sr. D. COMERCIAL ATHENIUM.- M A D R I D.-

RECORDS FOR IMPORTED COPIES

March 1966

Expediente N.º I.- 484-66

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

Atheneum.-Madrid Col. RORORO - Alemania

| N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ej. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|--------------|-------------|------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 51 | 27.218 | 5 | P. Highsmith | Unfall auf Kreta 2093 | |
| 52 | 2621-62 | 5 | E. Naughton | Keine Chance für McCabe 833 | |
| 53 | 25082-65 | 5 | Samuel Beckett | Murphy 311 | |
| 54 | 27.219 | 5 | K. Anne Porter | Blühender Judasbaum und andere... 832 | |
| 55 | 27.220 | 5 | Leo Bruce | Der Tote im Strandpavillon 2092 | |
| 56 | Sin nº Reg. | 5 | Jorge Amado | Gabriela wie Zimt und Nelken 838/9 | Según S. m. Registre |
| 57 | 27.221 | 5 | G. von Rezzori | Ein Hermelin in Tschernopol 759/60 | |
| 58 | 20728-61 | 5 | J. Dos Passos | Manhattan Transfer 836/7 | |
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Observaciones:

May 1967



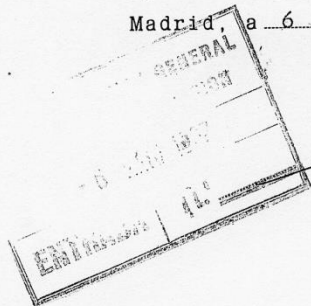
Ilmo. Sr.

4621
D

La Firma E.D.A.F. EDICIONES-DISTRIBUCIONES
con domicilio en Madrid calle/plaza
de Goya n.º 12, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras im-
portadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su
circulación y venta en territorio nacional, si
así lo estima pertinente.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, a 6 de Mayo de 1967.



[Signature]
E. D. A. F.
EDICIONES-DISTRIBUCIONES
GOYA, 12
MADRID - 1

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

May 1967



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION

Orientación Bibliográfica

md

Exp. n.º 1.621-67
(Cítese en la correspondencia)

Vista su instancia de fecha 6-V-67
y examinadas las obras que la acompa-
ñan, esta Dirección General, ha dis-
puesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras n.º 1, 4, 7, 8, 10,
11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20 (Las obras n.º 4, 8, 10, se
autorizan sin n.º de Registro)
cuyo n.º de Registro se hace constar
en la relación adjunta.

Se DENIEGAN las obras n.º 2, 3, 5, 6, 9,
14, 15, 17, 21, 22 y 23 y 18

que deberán ser devueltas al país de
procedencia, en virtud de la Orden mi-
nisterial de fecha 16-VII-45 (Boletín
Oficial de 28-VII-45).

Madrid, 10 de mayo de 1967

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

P. El Director General de Información,

Sr. D. E.D.A.F. - Madrid

May 1967

Expediente N.º 1.- 621-67

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

E.D.A.F.

| N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ejem. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | 1090-62 | 10 | SCHWEITZER | EL CAMINO HACIA TI MISMO | SUR |
| 2 | ----- | 30 | RELGIS | HISTORIA SEXUAL DE LA HUMANIDAD | CENIT |
| 3 | ----- | 25 | GARAUDY | DIOS HA MUERTO <i>Den. 3-8-65</i> | PLATINA |
| 4 | Sin N.º | 5 | GRAMSI | LITERATURA Y VIDA NACIONAL | LAUTARO |
| 5 | ----- | 20 | ALBERTI | RETORNOS DE LO VIVO LEJANO <i>Den.</i> | LOSADA |
| 6 | ----- | 15 | CELAYA | POESIA URGENTE <i>Den. 2-2-62</i> | " |
| 7 | 20728-61 | 10 | DOS PASSOS | MANHATTAN TRANSFER | S. RUEDA |
| 8 | Sin N.º | 10 | VARIOS | LA ULTIMA PALABRA | CAYMI |
| 9 | ----- | 15 | LEFEVRE | QUE ES LA DIALECTICA <i>Den. 14-5-66</i> | DEDALO |
| 10 | Sin N.º | 10 | BEAUVOIR | ¿PARA QUE LA ACCION? | SIGLO XX |
| 11 | 62-62 | 10 | SAINT-EXUPERY | TIERRA DE HOMBRES | TROQUEL |
| 12 | 228-61 | 10 | PARACELSO | OBRAS COMPLETAS | SCHAPIRE |
| 13 | 31240-66 | 20 | GIDE | LOS CUADERNOS DE ANDRE WALTER | " |
| 14 | ----- | 50 | BEAUVOIR | PARA UNA MORAL DE LA AMBIGÜEDAD <i>Den. 13-9-66</i> | --- |
| 15 | 2765-62 | 10 | GIDE | LA LITERATURA COMPROMETIDA <i>Den. 7-12-66</i> | --- |
| 16 | 2767-62 | 5 | TOYMBEE | EL HISTORIADOR Y LA RELIGION | EMECE |
| 17 | ----- | 10 | JOHANDEAU | CRONICAS MARI TALES <i>Den. 28-4-67</i> | TIRSO |
| 18 | 4848-62 | 10 | CARUSO | PSICOLOGIA DIALECTICA <i>Den. 24-3-65</i> | PAIDOS |
| 19 | 31440-66 | 5 | ADLER | EL CARACTER NEUROTICO | " |
| 20 | 1470-66 | 5 | HILL | TEORIAS COMTEMP. DEL APRENDIZAJE | " |
| 21 | ----- | 30 | PAVESE | ENTRE MUJERES SOLAS <i>Den. 19-4-67</i> | GOYANARTE |
| 22 | ----- | 2 | VARIOS | CRISTIANOS Y COMUNISTAS (Diálogos) | ARANDU <i>Den. 12-1-67</i> |
| 23 | ----- | 40 | SARTRE | PROBLEMAS, tomo 2º <i>Den. 30-1-67</i> | LOSADA |
| 24 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 25 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |

Observaciones:

November 1968



1789

VISADO

Ilmo. Sr. :

8.
Aut 7 dec
4-XII-1968
HM

La Firma *La Union Distribidora General*
con domicilio en *Madrid* calle/plaza
de *Aulaban* n.º *7* e inscrita con el
n.º *190* en el Registro de Empresas Importadoras
de Publicaciones Extranjeras, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras impor-
tadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su circu-
lación y venta en territorio nacional, si así lo
estima pertinente.

Compl
5-12-68

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, a *27* de *XI* de 19*68*



[Signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

November 1968



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial

fm.

Exp. n.º I.- 1789-68

(Cítese en la correspondencia)

Mod. 932 - 7656

Vista su instancia de fecha 29-11-68,
y examinadas las obras que la acompañan, esta Dirección Ge-
neral ha dispuesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras núm. 1 a la 5, 7,
y 10 a la 25 inclusive,

cuyo número de Registro se hace constar en la relación ad-
junta.

Se DENIEGAN las obras núm. 6, 8 y 9

que deberán ser devueltas al país de procedencia.

Madrid, 5 de diciembre 1968.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

p. El Director General de
Cultura Popular y Espectáculos,

Sr. D. UNION DISTRIBUIDORA GENERAL.- MADRID.-

RECORDS FOR IMPORTED COPIES

November 1968

Expediente N.º I.- 1789-68

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

UNION DISTRIBUIDORA GENERAL

Hoja 3a

Mod. 930 sees

| N.º de orden | N.º de reg. | N.º de ejem. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|---|----------|
| 1 | 20070-61 | 10 | S. Fredu | ✓ Obras Completas tomo XXII | |
| 2 | 43.883 | 10 | A. Aldao | ✓ Carandinito <i>Exconfesión de motivos patrióticos argentinos.</i> | |
| 3 | 43.884 | 10 | " | ✓ Teatro Infantil. <i>Exconfesión y dramatización de diversos motivos argentinos y populares.</i> | |
| 4 | 13964-64 | 10 | E. Faure | ✓ La función del cine | |
| 5 | 43.885 | 10 | E. G. Bartlett | ✓ Curso básico de Judo <i>Educación Judo</i> | |
| 6 | 6744-62 | 10 | J. y J. Raines | ✓ El placer sexual en el matrimonio <i>Den. 5-8-68</i> | |
| 7 | 6744-62 | 10 | H. Miller | ✓ Noches de amor y de alegría | |
| 8 | | 10 | H. Miller | ✓ Max y los fagocitos blancos <i>Den. 15-4-68</i> | |
| 9 | | 10 | " | ✓ Un domingo después de la guerra <i>Den. 20-4-68</i> | |
| 10 | 13454-62 | 10 | S. Kierkegaard | ✓ Tratado de la desesperación | |
| 11 | 6665-62 | 10 | " | ✓ Diario de un seductor | |
| 12 | 14057-64 | 10 | " | ✓ El amor y la religión | |
| 13 | 19951-61 | 10 | S. G. Jung | ✓ Psicología y alquimia | |
| 14 | 10960-63 | 10 | H. Hesse | ✓ Rosshalde | |
| 15 | 13453-63 | 10 | " | ✓ Pequeño mundo | |
| 16 | 13452-63 | 10 | 2 | ✓ El juego de abalorios | |
| 17 | 20728-65 | 10 | John dos Passos | ✓ Manhattan Transfer | |
| 18 | 13519-64 | 10 | A. Barea | ✓ La raíz rota | |
| 19 | 30907-66 | 10 | P. Guillaume | ✓ La psicología animal | |
| 20 | 18141-61 | 10 | H. Road | ✓ Cartas a un joven pintor | |
| 21 | 20317-61 | 10 | R. M. Rilke | ✓ Cartas a un joven poeta | |
| 22 | 20320-61 | 10 | M. Scheler | ✓ La idea del hombre en la Historia | |
| 23 | 9707-63 | 10 | H. S. Sullivan | ✓ La entrevista psiquiátrica | |
| 24 | 16948-64 | 10 | J. Piaget | ✓ Psicología de la inteligencia | |
| 25 | 16949-64 | 10 | M. V. Kline | ✓ Hipnosis psicología dinámica | |

Observaciones:

.../...

October 1969



1342

VISADO

Ilmo. Sr.:

La Firma Siglo XXI de España Editores, S.A.
con domicilio en Madrid calle/plaza
de Emilio Rubín, 7 n.º e inscrita con el
n.º 259 en el Registro de Empresas Importadoras
de Publicaciones Extranjeras, eleva a V. I. la
adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras impor-
tadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su circu-
lación y venta en territorio nacional, si así lo
estima pertinente.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid a 24 de octubre de 1969



Por autorización
[Signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

Mod. 931-5042

October 1969



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial

fm.

Exp. n.º **I.-1342-69**

(Cítese en la correspondencia).

Vista su instancia de fecha **25-10-69**
y examinadas las obras que la acompañan, esta Dirección Ge-
neral ha dispuesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras núm. **1. a la 25 inclusive,**
.....
.....
cuyo número de Registro se hace constar en la relación ad-
junta.

Se DENIEGAN las obras núm.
.....
.....
que deberán ser devueltas al país de procedencia.

Madrid, **28-10-69**
Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

P. El Director General de
Cultura Popular y Espectáculos,

Sr. D. **SIGLO XXI DE ESPAÑA.**

Mod. 932

October 1969

Expediente n.º I.- 1342-69

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

SIGLO XXI DE ESPAÑA

| N.º de Orden | N.º de Reg. | N.º de Ej. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | 26476-66 | 50 | Arrate, J.M.F. | Llave del Nuevo Mundo | I.L. Cubano |
| 2 | 27423-66 | 50 | Bachiler y Morales | Apuntes para hª de las letras | " " |
| 3 | 26333-66 | 50 | Balboa, S. | Espejo de paciencia | " " |
| 4 | 4648-63 | 50 | Balzac, H. | Papá Goriot | " " |
| 5 | 26001-66 | 50 | Baroja, P. | Aurora Roja | " " |
| 6 | 26330-66 | 50 | Barrera, Fco. | Reflexiones histórico - físico-nat. | " " |
| 7 | 27536-66 | 50 | Bobadilla, E. | Crítica y Sátira | " " |
| 8 | 27539-66 | 50 | Carballido, E. | El gallo pinto | " " |
| 9 | 26341-66 | 50 | Casal, J. | Poesías | " " |
| 10 | 7938-63 | 50 | Conrad, J. | Tifón | " " |
| 11 | 26457-66 | 50 | Chávez Alfaro | Los monos de San Telmo | " " |
| 12 | 25998-66 | 50 | Dickens, Ch. | Las memorias del Club Pickwick | " " |
| 13 | 20728-61 | 50 | Dos Passoa, J. | Manhattan Transfer | " " |
| 14 | 26481-66 | 50 | Entralgo, E. | Lecturas y Estudios | " " |
| 15 | 26433-66 | 50 | Escardó, R. | Libro de Rolando | " " |
| 16 | 26429-66 | 50 | Escardó, R. | Las Ráfagas | " " |
| 17 | 26430-66 | 50 | Feijóo, S. | Cuerda Menor | " " |
| 18 | 26383-66 | 50 | Feijóo, S. | El girasol sediento | " " |
| 19 | 26384-66 | 50 | Feijóo, S. | Caminante montés | " " |
| 20 | 26519-66 | 50 | Feijóo, S. | Ser fiel | " " |
| 21 | 26334-66 | 50 | Feijóo, S. | Dibujos | " " |
| 22 | 26730-66 | 50 | Ferrer, R. | Tetro | " " |
| 23 | 26428-66 | 50 | Franco, D.L. | La vida heroica y ejemplar de Macao | " " |
| 24 | 27549-66 | 50 | Fresquito Fresquet | De tonto que soy | " " |
| 25 | 26388-66 | 50 | Fuentes, J.L. | El sol ese enemigo | " " |

Observaciones:

27-10-69

October 1973



VISADO

1751

Ilmo. Sr.:

[Handwritten signature]

18
autorizados y NO autorizados
28/XI/73
[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]
 Mod. 981

La firma EDITORIAL MANGOLD, S.A.
 con domicilio en Madrid calle/plaza
Játiva, n.º 5 e inscrita con el
 n.º 241 en el Registro de Empresas Importadoras
 de Publicaciones Extranjeras, eleva a V. I. la
 adjunta relación por triplicado, de obras impor-
 tadas, a fin de que se sirva autorizar su circu-
 lación y venta en territorio nacional, si así lo
 estima pertinente.

Dios guarde a V. I. muchos años.

Madrid, a 22 de octubre de 1973.

1. e AC

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular.



October 1973



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

fm.

Exp. núm. **I.- 1751-73**

(Cítese en la correspondencia)

Vista su instancia de fecha **7-11-73**
y examinadas las obras que la acompañan, esta Dirección General ha dispuesto lo siguiente:

Se AUTORIZAN las obras núm. **1, 2, 5, 6, 9 a la 14, 16, 17, 19, 21 y 22**

cuyo número de Registro se hace constar en la relación adjunta.

Se DENIEGAN las obras núm. **3, 4, 7, 8, 15, 18 y 20**

que deberán ser devueltas al país de procedencia.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, **4** de **diciembre** de 197**3**.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR,

Sr. D. **MANGOLD.-**

I. 932 - 20189

October 1973

Expediente n.º I.- 1751-73

(Déjese en blanco)

RELACION DE OBRAS PARA VISADO

MANGOLD

Mod. 930

| | N.º de orden | N.º de reg. | N.º de ejem. | AUTOR | TITULO | EDITORES |
|----|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---|-----------|
| SI | 1 | 12133-63 | 70 | Hemri Bosco | LE MAS THEOTIME | GALLIMARD |
| SI | 2 | 32156-62 | 70 | Barjavel | TARENDOL | " |
| NO | 3 | --- | 70 | Diderot | LE NEVEU DE RAMEAU <i>Den. 25.3.72</i> | " |
| NO | 4 | --- | 70 | Beauvoir | LA FORCE DES CHOSES II <i>Den. 24.4.73</i> | " |
| SI | 5 | 59272-72 | 70 | V. Hugo | CHOSES VUES 1870-1885 | " |
| SI | 6 | 14912-64 | 70 | Paul Vialar | LA GRANDE MEUTE | " |
| NO | 7 | --- | 70 | Elsa Triolet | LE CHEVAL BLANC <i>Den. 19.9.72</i> | " |
| NO | 8 | --- | 70 | H. Miller | TROPIQUE DU CANCER <i>Den. 27.3.73</i> | " |
| SI | 9 | 64356-73 | 70 | Bodard | L'HUMILIATION (la Guerre d'Indochine III) | " |
| SI | 10 | 14666-64 | 70 | Marcel Aymé | LES CONTES DU CHAT PERCHE | " |
| SI | 11 | 68731-73 | 70 | Michel Mohrt | LA CAMPAGNE D'ITALIE | " |
| SI | 12 | 20197-65 | 70 | Balzac | UNE TENEBREUSE AFFAIRE | " |
| SI | 13 | 24198-65 | 70 | J. Cortázar | LES ARMES SECRETES | " |
| SI | 14 | 20728-61 | 70 | Dos Passos | MANHATTAN TRANSFER | " |
| NO | 15 | --- | 70 | Wolinski | Ils ne pensent qu'à ça <i>Den. 18-10-73</i> | " |
| SI | 16 | 32527-67 | 70 | Rabelais | LE TIERS LIVRE | " |
| SI | 17 | 54715-71 | 70 | Jeriat | LE TEMPS D'AIMER | " |
| NO | 18 | --- | 70 | Gilles | DRIEU LA ROCHELLE <i>Den. 19.10.73</i> | " |
| SI | 19 | 51262-70 | 70 | Montherlant | FILS DE PERSONNE | " |
| NO | 20 | --- | 70 | Kerouac (1) | LES ANGES VAGABONDS | " |
| SI | 21 | 68841-73 | 70 | Giono | ENNEMONDE ET AUTRES CARACTERES | " |
| SI | 22 | 68840-73 | 70 | Strindberg | LE FILS DE LA SERVANTE | " |
| | 23 | | | | | |
| | 24 | | | | | |
| | 25 | | | | | |

Observaciones:

(1) *deberá ser firmado en otro libro
por el autor. Delegado.*

Boadilla del Monte, 2 de marzo de 2016
